

# Green Anarchy

NO. 5 Late Spring 2001  
\$2 USA, \$3 Can, \$4 UK  
Free to Prisoners !

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## NORTHWEST HEATS UP!

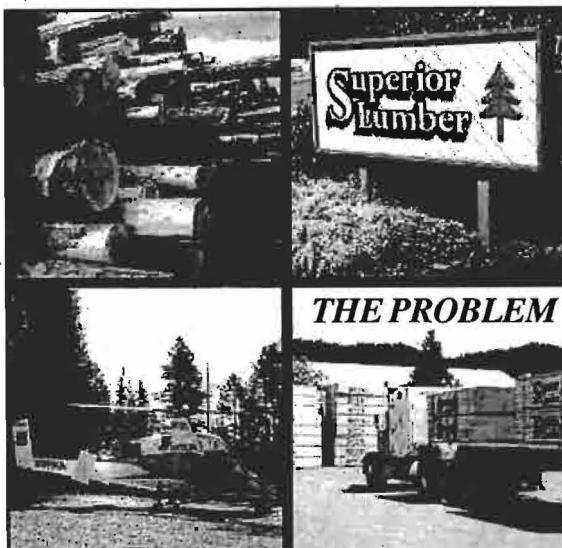
Actions against Earth destroying industries have increased dramatically in the last three months in the northwest United States leaving corporations fearful, legislators scrambling to create hate crime legislation and green anarchists cheering it on. Just a day after the new year, the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) kicked off this latest round of resistance to deforestation and other forms of earth rape by burning down the offices of Superior Lumber in Glendale, Oregon. According to news reports, four incendiary devices were used to torch the building leaving behind a dilapidated, burnt shell. Superior is well known to environmentalists in the Northwest who have fought them on such controversial sales as *Deer Mom* and *Bear Paw*. In addition to their helicopter rental program (used for spraying herbicides and fertilizer) they recently bought 11 sales on BLM land and will be cutting 17 million board feet. What is inspiring is that the ELF did not make any claim that the action was against any specific project but against the existence of the company as a whole. Just a week after the fire, many different environmentalists were visited by the FBI/ATF, some of whom cooperated by speaking to the media. Here is the communiqué from that action which cost the company roughly \$800,000 in damages:

*"We torched Superior Lumber in Glendale, OR on January 1, Superior Lumber is a typical earth raper contributing to the ecological destruction of the Northwest. What happened to them should shock no one. This year, we hope to see an escalation in tactics against capitalism and industry. While Superior Lumber says, 'Make a few items, and do it better than anyone else,' we say, 'choose an earth raper, and destroy them'.*

ELF  
 Earth Liberation Front"

During an "environmental law" conference in Eugene in early March, the ELF released a communiqué taking responsibility for spiking trees in a controversial timber sale in the Umpqua National Forest. Using a tactic not often employed and disavowed by liberal elements of the Earth First! movement, the ELF drove spikes and nails into two units of the Judie Timber Sale, just 30 miles from Eugene. Here is the communiqué:

*"Units 6 and 8 of the Judie Timber Sale in the Hardesty Wilderness Area (Umpqua National Forest) have been spiked. Also, all survey stakes have been pulled and destroyed on the road cutting into Unit 8. We inserted 60-penny nails and 8 and 10 inch spikes*



*both high and low in the trees to prevent cutting of this native forest. This Salvage Rider sale threatens the Laying Creek watershed which provides water to the nearby town of Cottage Grove. Scarred early in the century by fire, this vibrant forest provides habitat for rare plants, tree frogs, and elk (which we saw herds of during our excursion). All responsibility for worker safety now lies with the owner of the sale, Seneca Jones Corporation and their accomplices, the Forest Service. Cancel this sale immediately.*

ELF  
 Earth Liberation Front"



*THE SOLUTION*

Due to the Earth Liberation Front Press Office's continued support for the ELF and direct action, they were raided on April 5th. Agents from the FBI, BATF, and Oregon State Police conducted a six-hour raid of the home, business, and vehicles of Craig Rosebraugh, Leslie James Pickering and Elaine Close. In addition to seizing hundreds of items of property from the above locations, Craig Rosebraugh was served a subpoena to testify before a federal grand jury on April 18 that has convened in Eugene, Oregon. At approximately 6:00am, Rosebraugh was pulled over in his vehicle by a Portland Police Officer claiming the stop was due to a broken taillight. After 30 minutes FBI agents approached the car and delivered copies of the search warrants to Rosebraugh.

At the same time that Rosebraugh was pulled over, agents began the raid on the personal residence in North Portland where both Pickering and Close were present. After Rosebraugh and the vehicle he was driving were searched,

Rosebraugh was taken to the Calendula Baking Company where the FBI proceeded to break through a window to gain access. A four hour search and seizure was conducted at this site, while at the same time a six hour search was occurring at the residence. Upon leaving the bakery and the home, agents seized hundreds of items of property including computer equipment, phone books, videos, literature and other items.

Despite the continued harrassment, the ELF Press Office appears to be hanging in there saying that the raid will not have a negative impact on the work they do at the ELF Press Office and that it has made them more determined. They do need our support and are specifically looking for donations of cash and computer equipment needed to put out their magazine, *Resistance*.

*Continued on page 9...*

## THE EZLN IS NOT ANARCHIST: Or Struggles at the Margins and Revolutionary Solidarity

(from *Willful Disobedience #7*)

*"In a future revolutionary period the most subtle and most dangerous defenders of capitalism will not be the people shouting pro-capitalist and pro-statist slogans, but those who have understood the possible point of total rupture. Far from eulogizing TV commercials and social submission, they will propose to change life - but to that end, call for building a true democratic power first. If they succeed in dominating the situation, the creation of this new political form will use up people's energy, fritter away radical aspirations and, with the means becoming the end, will once again turn revolution into an ideology."*

- Gilles Dauve

The current restructuring of capital and its global expansion intrudes to an ever greater extent into the lives of those on its margins. Peasants and indigenous people in non-Western, so-called "third world" nations, who have maintained some level of control over their subsistence up to now, are finding themselves forced to leave their lands or conform their activities to the needs of the world capitalist market simply to survive. It is, therefore, not surprising that movements of resistance against the various aspects of capitalist intrusion have arisen among these people in many parts of the world. The West Papua Freedom Movement (OPM) is a movement

of indigenous people (many of whom continue to live as they did for centuries before any colonial powers arrived) against their Indonesian rulers is quite clear about refusing "modern life" - that is, the state, capital and everything that industrial civilization imposes. Or as they have said in communiqués: "We want to be left alone!" But this is the one thing that capital and the state will never grant. Although the OPM has sent delegates to demand talks with the Indonesian government, the West Papuans are increasingly aware of the futility of such negotiations. Recent communiqués talk increasingly of fighting to the death if necessary. After all, succumbing to the intrusion of capital would mean their spiritual death in any case. Their clarity about what they do not want has probably played an important part in guaranteeing that this movement, though armed, has never developed a separated military body, but rather has fought using methods traditional to their cultures. On the other hand, they have not completely escaped the ideology of nationalism, or at least its use in an attempt to have some credibility before world opinion. Still, this movement stands for having very few illusions about what the civilized social order and its institutions have to offer.

Another struggle at the farthest fringes of capitalist expansion is that of the people of Bougainville, an island about five miles west of the Solomon Islands, which has been under the rule of Papua New Guinea (not to be mistaken for West Papua) since 1975. The people of this island were pushed to revolt when CRA, an Australian subsidiary of Rio Tinto Zinc, installed a copper mine, causing hundreds of locals to lose their homes, lands and fishing rights, as well as destroying much of the jungle. The mine expanded until it was a half kilometer deep and seven kilometers in diameter. Protests, petitions and demands for compensation proved ineffective. So in 1988, a handful of islanders stole explosives from the mining company and began to destroy its structures and machinery. When the Papua New Guinea (PNG) government sent in its armed forces, the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) was formed to battle the PNG military and their Australian advisers. Armed only with homemade guns, dealing with a total blockade of the island by Australian boats and helicopters and largely ignored by the outside world, the people of Bougainville have nearly achieved autonomy. A peace process began in 1997 and those PNG soldiers still on the island have been

*continued on page 7...*

# Spring is here, and a new page has been turned for

## Green Anarchy!

It has been almost a year since *GA*#1 came off the press, and it's come a long way. Now it is about time to try to define what we are and where we want to go. In the past our focus was too vague and dissipated, ranging from primitivism to the diggers to social ecology. While the term "green anarchy" is very broad, we do not feel obligated, nor do we desire, to include every end of the spectrum in this paper. It is time to get serious and take a critical look at ourselves and each other.

For at least the next several issues, *Green Anarchy* will be published by a recently formed collective and will hopefully be able to reflect the diversity of thought and perspectives that exist here in the Eugene area. Although everyone involved in the new *GA* collective has been strongly influenced by primitivist theory and are sympathetic to the primitivist critique of industrialism and civilization, we have no desire to be labeled "primitivist" and accept the ideological restrictions on free thought that often go along with this particular strain of anarchism. We're personally getting a little sick of primitivist rhetoric (especially in this town), and while we'll continue to make use of primitivism as a critical tool, we feel we need to move beyond it, as it's already in the process of becoming a religion to many people.

We do feel a lot of affinity with primitivism on the issue of civilization and we hope that future issues of *GA* will put forth a strong anti-industrial and anti-civilization critique. We hope to simultaneously incorporate an insurrectional anarchist critique and methodology, which is vital as we teeter on the edge of ecological collapse. Insurrection, of course, is not free of its own rhetoric and contradictions, but the insurrectional current within anarchism has an inspiring history and is full of numerous examples of individuals who have seized their freedom through violent rebellion. We are seeing a revival of interest in the insurrectional anarchist tradition, because collectively we realize our time is running out. Besides, why should we ever accept anything less than total freedom and not desire the destruction of any barrier which keeps us from it?

Insurrectional anarchism, however, deals mainly with methods of how to go about destroying the present society. While clearly advocating doing all one can to take back

one's life as far as possible here and now, it doesn't deal much with the specifics--and with good reason, since that should be dealt with by each individual and group of comrades in terms of their desires and proclivities. Nonetheless, it is important for us to examine how we can go about creating our lives now in a way that can sustain us and our revolt, while recognizing that every project for survival that is not based in active revolt against the society which gives economic survival priority over the quality of life remains a part of this world. Thus it is essential to develop projects of long-term mutual aid and self-sufficiency, networks for meeting our needs and desires which reduce our dependence on the capitalist/industrial death culture which suffocates us all, and which provide us with the time and energy to attack it with all necessary force.

We hope *GA* can be a voice for those who have a similar anti-authoritarian and anti-industrial perspective, one that is lacking in the often dry and unoriginal North American anarchist press. If you want to contribute articles, opinions, graphics, or "good" poetry, please contact us.

### Why we love Chaos.

In previous issues of *GA*, there was some question as to anarchy's relationship to chaos. The *GA* collective can agree that while the dominant culture's version of chaos is one of conflicting order and meaningless carnage, we actually see the organic and dynamic nature of chaos. It is true freedom. It is harmonious. It is violent. It is life. It is anarchy. It is.

### Why we want to distance ourselves from Social Ecology:

Another issue that we wish to clarify is the relationship of this paper to the social ecology movement, which in our opinion, is antithetical to basic anarchist concepts of self-determination and autonomy. Anarchy is not about the submission of the individual to the "democratically elected" political authority of mayors, city councils or "federations". We do not see social ecology as a liberatory force in the world and we will oppose it as vehemently and forcefully as we oppose any form of democracy. The current *GA* collective does not acknowledge social ecology as a philosophical influence on our politics in *any* way, and in fact, regard social ecology as a "system in waiting" that we will do nothing to endorse or promote. Cheers!

For those who would like to submit an article or letter, our Summer 2001 deadline is June 18th, 2001.

## THE WORLD SOCIAL FARCE

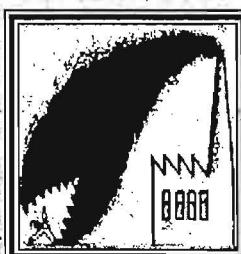
(from *Willful Disobedience* #7)

As cops brutally drove protesters back from Davos, Switzerland, using state violence to prevent demonstrations in the vicinity of the World Economic Forum, 12,000 "representatives from citizens' groups" met together in Porto Alegre, Brazil to develop an "alternative" to the economic model of the WEF. This conference, called the World Social Forum, was organized by various parties (including the Partido dos Trabalhadores that holds power in that region of Brazil) and organizations. As is typical of the left, the WSF sought to draw groups from across the radical and liberal political spectrum (and even succeeded in drawing a few anarchist and autonomous groups to participate). Thus, their rhetoric was as bland and noncommittal as their practice. Speaking of creating a different design for globalization and developing strategies for laying "the foundations for a fairer economic model," the forum as a whole emphasized "more citizen involvement," and "more opportunities for democratic participation" in the global economy. While a few dissident voices (mainly from the anarchists and autonomes who made the mistake of attending this forum) called for the end of capitalism, it is clear that the primary thrust of this forum was, in fact, to find a way to preserve the present social order in a more humane and democratic form, to preserve the trajectory of capitalism in a way that will allow more people to actively participate.

But let us consider: is a death march worth continuing because we've eradicated the whips and cattle prods? Does the right of

the marchers to choose who will direct the march or what the details of its continuance will involve mean anything when the basic reality remains the same, with an end that is guaranteed: death in the fullest sense — of creativity, imagination, joy and wonder, and ultimately of our physical being as well? In reality, chatter about citizens' participation and more democracy is an absurdity in a world in which more and more people are pushed from their homes and pushed into undocumented migration in the attempt to survive (thus, finding themselves excluded from citizenship and "humanity" as recognized by the state) precisely by the actions of the democratic states. Attempting to make the present social order more just and more ecological is equally absurd when one considers that it must expand in order to survive and such expansion means the increasing dissemination of the poisons necessary for economic production, the increasing spread of misery, disaster, and death. In light of the present conditions of existence, the World Social Forum was a farce. Alternative methods of exploitation and domination guarantee the destruction of any life worth living as surely as the present forms do. Ultimately, nothing short of the total destruction of the present social order can put an end to the death march that is our civilized reality, and all those who seek to merely restructure the methods by which this death march advances are as much my enemy as those who presently direct it.

Anarchists and revolutionaries would do well to avoid being taken in by such absurdities as the World Social Farce. We have better things to do.



## SLEEVE REPLIES TO "THE REAL JOHN CONNOR" AND THE GREEN ANARCHY COLLECTIVE

I feel that it would be pointless and counterproductive to conduct an extensive analysis of "Connor's" rant and the *Green Anarchy* editorial postscript in issue #4. Certain key factors of the entire exchange call for rebuttal and/or observation, so here goes. To be charitable, "Connor" flagrantly extrapolates many of my "beliefs," in order to make it easy to attack them. Let's take just one example from his very long rant. I say (*GA* #2) that I think anybody doing anything at all against the system should be cut some slack. I say this in the context of a meditation on what the fuck "green anarchy" actually means in praxis, and in the midst of an implied critique of ideological purism. "John" concludes that I define green anarchy as anybody doing anything at all against the system. There's a lot more examples, but I have faith in our readers to go back and compare.

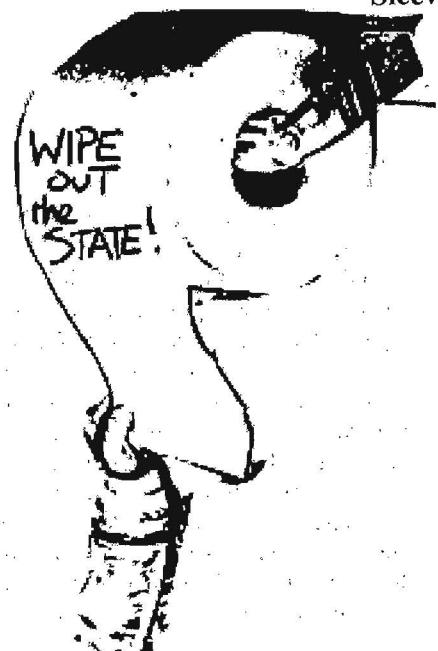
"Connor" does a great job of attacking the straw man he sets up. The trouble is, not much of it corresponds to things I actually said. Except, for some reason (dare I guess homophobia?), there are numerous extremely derogatory references to the article in *GA* #1. The points made are good ones -- sexual liberation should flow from individual desire not politically proscribed practice -- but once again the interpretation of my words says a lot more about "Connor's" fears and insecurities than it does about my writing or my arguments. The lecture on punk aesthetics of negation falls flat when he gets Greil Marcus' name wrong.

Unfortunately, some as yet unidentified part of the *GA* collective chose (for "reasons of space") to cut the editorial defense of me that folks will (hopefully) read this time around. Because of that, people kept coming up to me in Eugene and saying "I just want you to know that that editorial in *GA* was really FUCKED UP." When I was finally able to get ahold of it, I wasn't that upset. There are people in Eugene who won't work with me? Of course. The same would be true of any person in any healthy community, I would hope. One of the best things about anarchist ideas is how they enable people who disagree to find common ground and mutual respect, which can include disengagement.

For a really good treatment of the destruction vs. creation debate that I attempted to address in my essay in *GA* #2, I suggest readers turn to the excellent *Killing King Abacus* zine for Penelope Nin's "In Defense Of Nihilism" (available from 41 Sutter Street, PMB 1661, San Francisco, CA 94104). My point, in the end, would be that the anarchist milieu, and primitivism especially, wastes too much energy denouncing good people on the wrong side of whatever theory and practice is considered "most insurrectionary" at the moment, as opposed to simply living that praxis. Nin's article addresses this issue as well, and reading Doris Lessing's *Prisons We Choose To Live Inside* never hurts.

Still, something about the overall level of nastiness, pointless waste of space, and "insurrectionary" posturing in that "article" and its postscript ended up bothering me. In a way, it proves one of "Connor's" points: that American anarchists are too deferential to imagined authorities in the movement. This is borne out not only by the apparent sense of obligation on the part of the *GA* staff to print "Connor's" piece, but by the way the final version of the editorial afterward goes out of its way to try and appease "John," lest he write another long attack that the hard-working editors will also feel obligated to print. In spite of all this, I thought #4 was the best *Green Anarchy* yet, and have high hopes for the mag. in the future.

Love,  
Sleeve



# ANARCHIST EPISTEMOLOGY

By Pendleton Vandiver

Anarchism, as a political philosophy that is roughly 200 years old, is a product of modern Western society. This makes many of the assumptions underlying anarchist theory worthy of scrutiny by anyone who considers it to be her project to undermine, overthrow, or destroy modern Western society, in other words, anyone who considers herself an anarchist. Since anarchism is a philosophy that points beyond itself, anarchist epistemology will always be problematic. This is because the anarchist goal, as I see it, is not to install a new political system called anarchism; rather, the goal is to promote anarchy. Anarchism is an expedient which is employed in promoting anarchy, and as such tends to recoil upon purists and systematizers who seek to craft an ultimate anarchist theory.

Classical anarchism is increasingly being called into question because it accepts too many of the assumptions of the dominant culture from which it sprang. For this reason, the root of the various problems with classical anarchism is an epistemological one. Anarchists are becoming more and more suspicious, if not downright hostile, toward ideas which seek to eliminate the trappings of political and economic power while leaving intact the mechanisms of domination which allow this power to thrive. The industrial system is no longer seen as a benign engine of progress, which needs to be placed in the hands of the workers. Anarchism, in short, is becoming green, and this simply means that it is becoming global, it is addressing the totality of life, not just inhabiting a cordoned-off political sphere, because it cannot afford to leave oppression any place to hide.

Anarcho-primitivism is an example of this tendency within anarchism. It is not merely political structures that are called into question by primitivists, but fundamental forms of human communication and categories of thought. Primitivism is a radical critique in that it seeks to identify the roots of oppression. John Zerzan's writings are particularly probing in that they explore the supposed origins of alienation and social stratification in the (usually taken for granted) categories of time, language, number, art and agriculture.

The primitivist critique is very important, and cannot be ignored by anyone with a green anarchist orientation. Yet there are vexing contradictions in much primitivist theory, which seem to result from a lack of consideration of epistemology. The proponents of this philosophy purport to call into question civilization in total. A *Primitivist Primer* by John Moore calls anarcho-primitivism a shorthand term for a radical current that critiques the totality of civilization from an anarchist perspective, yet they mostly place themselves firmly within Western scientific discourse with their reliance on anthropological data. If anarcho-primitivism were primarily an immanent critique, exploring the aims and methods of civilization in order to show that they are inconsistent with one another, perhaps it could afford to rely upon a perspective that is supplied to it by Western science. But anarcho-primitivism is purporting to tell us how to go outside of civilization, and the outside that is being posited is totally, qualitatively other. The fact that this other is being defined, from top to bottom, by the very institutions that are being called into question scarcely seems to perturb anarcho-primitivist theorists.

The juxtaposition of uncompromising purism and naïveté that is revealed in much primitivist writing is often jarring, even shocking. A quote from Zerzan's *Elements of Refusal* is emblematic of the unacknowledged irony that pervades much of the anarcho-primitivist critique:<sup>1</sup> In fact, [primitive] life was lived in a continuous present, (12) underlying the point that historical time is not inherent in reality, but an imposition on it.<sup>2</sup> It does not matter what source that little number 12 is asking us to consider. After informing the reader that this undemonstrable assertion is a "fact", Zerzan duly provides a footnote to prove it! That the assertion may in some sense be true, I do not wish to contest. The point is that an entirely unscientific, indeed anti-scientific, stance is being dressed up in academic attire in order to give the entire proceeding an air of rigor and methodological legitimacy that can only seem congruous to the superficial reader. The thesis itself, that time is the primal cause of alienation, is worth considering, and indeed Zerzan is a wonderful writer who often says important things. Yet epistemologically, we are getting into hot water when we simultaneously challenge the very existence of civilization while accepting its methodology and its conclusions.

Indeed, the entire primitivist project is saddled with the unfortunate onus of a purist theory that is riddled with

impurities it does not even seek to address. The primitivist tendency to valorize nature over culture is naïve because it forgets that culture necessarily defines nature. The definition of nature as anything that is not culture is always going to be useful to power, because it equates nature with everything that is already subjugated and offers its opponents the opportunity to identify themselves with the defeated. This is a suckers game, and provides the necessary conditions within which an unwittingly loyal opposition can form around the most ostensibly radical critique. To completely oppose civilization as it defines itself is to grant it hegemony over everything it claims as its own. If we wish to destroy civilization, we should also seek to define it on our terms—which an anarchist epistemology would seek to provide.

Primitivists have hitched their wagon to a star, and it would behoove them to look at the trajectory of that star if they want to see where they are headed. Thirty years ago, anthropologists painted a very different picture of what primitive life was like; thirty years from now, the picture is also likely to look different. In that case, the entire social philosophy of anarcho-primitivism will likewise change. How can a critique which purports to be so radical allow

is an immutable truth about anarchism.

Secondly, to the extent that anarchy is in any sense green, we want to live in a manner that is sustainable, both ecologically and socially. Since the institutions and practices that cause massive ecological destruction have, until now, also been involved in suppressing human freedom, this second statement should in no way conflict with the first, although it is not logically inconceivable that a situation would arise in which it did. If this were to happen, it is entirely possible that an anarchist would decide to forgo freedom in favor of sustainability, but in doing so he would not be acting as an anarchist. In other words, even if someone does not consider anarchism (which, as I noted earlier, is an expedient) the most appropriate response to a situation, he should acknowledge that what he is advocating is not anarchy if it does not create a situation in which we can live as freely as possible.

Although anarchism values freedom over sustainability, it does not see the two as conflicting with one another. A free life should be a sustainable life, because people acting as free individuals are not involved in institutions which are inherently oppressive as well as destructive. But to say

that anarchists value freedom over sustainability is to say that we value quality over quantity; after all, the most sustainable world would probably consist entirely of microorganisms. Indeed, a world utterly devoid of life would be the most sustainable of all. The word "sustainable" is always used in a context, and always has to refer to something we want to sustain. Therefore, freedom is valued over sustainability because it is the condition we consider to be worth sustaining.

The implications of this for anarchist epistemology are as follows: no matter what sources our information comes from, our goals do not emanate from those sources or from that information. Therefore, anarchy is not what Western anthropologists tell us it is. For instance, if anthropologists suddenly decide that foraging bands were extremely patriarchal after all, anarchists will not revise their vision of anarchy to include patriarchy. If something like this happens, anarcho-primitivists will be forced to either drop the anarcho- prefix, or drop the -primitivist suffix, because patriarchy is incompatible with anarchy. We know this, because we know what it is that we want. This is what I mean by an epistemology of desire. Knowledge without meaning is simply data, and meaning is knowledge informed by desire. This definition of meaning is crucial, because it is my contention that any other definition will lead to authoritarian consequences.

We all rely on various sources to give us information about the world. An anarchist epistemology does not declare scientific sources invalid a priori. We should be perfectly willing to use this type of information as a tool. Yet if anarchy is completely identified with a view of an epoch in human existence that belongs to one historical phase of Western science, then anarchism has become an integral part, not just of civilization, but of one particular phase of civilization thirty years. This is a serious lapse in anarchist thinking, and it is directly attributable to a lack of concern with epistemology.

It is difficult not to suspect that, if we allow our desires to be channeled into a prepackaged scientific picture of utopia, we are buying another commodity being peddled to us by Western civilization. To completely identify everything we want with one specific (pre-)historical epoch is to miss the point of anarchy and succumb to mere nostalgia; worse, nostalgia for a past that is simply an abstraction. We want to live our own lives as freely and sustainably as possible, not to accept some social model that has been concocted by anthropologists. Whatever the specific sources of our information, an anarchist critique needs to employ an anarchist epistemology in order to avoid subordinating its agenda to that of Western science, or to any other institution.

The guidelines for an anarchist epistemology that I have suggested are very broad, perhaps even vague. I feel that this is necessary because, although the process of interpreting knowledge is complex, we should keep a few general principles in mind when doing so. If I were to give a specific epistemological theory, it would no longer be an anarchist epistemology. For anarchists, it is above all the desire for freedom that allows knowledge to be coherent and empowering.

**Stay tuned for our next issue, when  
we discuss anarchist  
antidisestablishmentarianism.**

# STUCK IN THE MUD OF IDEOLOGY:

## A Response to “Stick It to the Manarchy”

From the first word of “Stick It to the Manarchy”, it is obvious that we are not dealing with a critique, but with an ideological construction with a not so hidden agenda. This word is a neologism under which the authors place a variety of different attitudes and behaviors that are actually separate and individual. The term “manarchy”, like the term “feminazi”, clarifies nothing and is nothing more than an ideological evasion of the necessity of critique, carefully avoiding the examination and analysis of specific matters that is necessary to move our struggle forward, because this would bring up too many difficult questions; better to construct an artificial concept through which to view everything, because then we’ll always have an answer, an explanation that proves that what makes us uncomfortable is always wrong. Such a pathetic way to go about justifying one’s fearful avoidance of revolution.

The Rock Bloc Collective (RBC) then go on to define “manarchy” in such a way that no self-respecting anarchist could possibly support it, and yet write about it throughout the article as if it were an ideology that certain anarchists put forth. This projection of a non-existent ideological mindset onto a disparate group of individuals, attitudes and behaviors guarantees that — no matter what legitimate basis there may be for some of their complaints — the RBC will be unable to carry out a real and usable critique. Rather they will filter everything through their ideological construction and leave us with a ridiculous whine that comes across as an attempt to denigrate an uncompromising revolt that they are not prepared to carry out. Why not rather say what *their* limits are and act on that? Intelligent anarchists carry out their revolt in accordance with their capabilities and do not judge those whose capabilities differ. But there is a bottom line: *in the methods of carrying out their struggle*, anarchists do not compromise or negotiate with the ruling order. This is what distinguishes anarchists from liberals, reformists, socialists and communists. It is the basic anarchist principle that the ends for which one struggles already exist in the means by which one carries out one’s struggle.

Here, we can begin to understand the meaning of the concept of “no compromise”. Of course, “within a capitalist system, we all *must* compromise” (emphasis added). That is precisely why in the context of struggle and revolt, where compromise is not compulsory, we would do well to hold onto that shred of dignity that is left to us and refuse to petition, compromise or negotiate with the ruling order. When I say “no compromise” this is precisely what I mean: in a world in which my life is perpetually compromised by social conditions beyond my control, I will not compromise my attempts to overturn those conditions by negotiating with or petitioning the state or the ruling class. In this way, I retain some dignity, some self-determination and some genuine life at least in the realm of my struggle against this order. And this uncompromising struggle is the only way to achieve our ends against an enemy so much greater than us. It is important to realize that the refusal of compromise is a negative proposition — that is, a proposal of what *not* to do if we wish to maintain our anarchist principles — not an affirmative program of what to do. Therefore, anarchists in all sorts of economic, social and physical conditions can and do refuse compromise while carrying out the sorts of actions which their capabilities, situations and propensities allow. The refusal of compromise in one’s struggle is not a dogma, but a *decision*, more specifically a decision to exercise self-determination in the one area in which we can in this society — that of the struggle to destroy it.

Sadly the ideological blinders through which the RBC view these matters makes their attempts at critiquing specific situations fail, because these matters are turned into supports for their ideological constructions. Thus, a possibly tactically unwise attempt to break through a barricade in Boston during the presidential debates there is not examined in terms of tactics, analyses of the situation or principles, but is simply labeled “tough” and spoken of in terms of the alleged more-radical-than-thou attitudes of those involved in the action. It is necessary for the RBC to speculate in this fashion in order to make the situation fit into their conception of “manarchy”. This speculation about the underlying feelings behind other people’s actions and words continues in the so-called critique of the man at the Black Bloc meeting who said: “If you’re not willing to take a hit . . . and you’re not willing to go to jail, don’t march with the Black Bloc.” While the situation in which he found himself isolated, confronting cops, certainly raises

a lot of questions both tactically and in terms of principles, these are not questions of toughness or machismo; they are about communication among individuals in affinity groups and in larger groups, about real solidarity in the midst of a concrete situation of revolt, about having it together to have each other’s backs when we choose to take to the streets in these repressive times (and at all times for that matter). To blame the man who found himself deserted in the face of the cops for feeling deserted and to accuse him of machismo is a classic case of blaming the victim. His statement is not divisive nor an attempt to declare who can and can’t be in the Black Bloc; it is a realistic expression of the risk involved: if a person takes part in a Black Bloc, *she/he* is risking being beaten or imprisoned. To deny this or try to hide it is irresponsible. In fact, this is true not just of the Black Bloc, but of any form of participation in a demonstration, particularly in the present repressive atmosphere. The RBC’s implication that openly saying such things is macho or elitist is not convincing. It seems to have little to do with fighting machismo and a lot to do with not wanting to face the reality of the increasingly repressive situation in which we are struggling.

The members of the RBC tell us that they are “all white and coming from economically privileged backgrounds”. (This latter is reinforced by their obvious enrollment in a small, private college.) This may explain their arrogant presumption in declaring what the feelings and attitudes that underlie other people’s actions are and in setting the limits of possible action for those less advantaged than them. It most certainly explains their view of radical activity and revolution as essentially a form of psychotherapy. They refer to direct action and the Black Bloc as a tactic “*for empowerment*” and speak of “*working to build a world where people are empowered and loving.*” (emphases added). This is all very nice, but 12-step groups talk about the same ideals and present no threat whatsoever to the present world. As I see it, revolutionary direct action is a means toward the destruction of the present world of domination and exploitation. And my aim is to build a world in which no one can be dominated or exploited, because the practice of uncompromising, self-determined revolt has made everyone indomitable and uncontrollable. Asking permission, negotiating, compromising with our rulers cannot bring this end about. So the refusal of compromise is not about self-sacrifice. It is the very opposite: taking back one’s life as far as one is capable and acting to accomplish one’s aims and to destroy the world that stands in the way of our self-determined existence against all odds.

Unlike the members of RBC, I am nor from an “economically privileged background”. My parents were working class, and throughout my adult life I have been, by the standards of the state, quite poor — though my preference for freedom from a job has had something to do with this, I have also pursued this preference without having wealthy parents or a trust fund to fall back on. Contrary to the thoughts of these four well-to-do college students, those of us who are “economically disadvantaged” don’t fret over not having money for a lawyer. The threat of arrest is a normal part of our lives, because some level of illegality is bound to be part of our lives to supplement our incomes — and since the cops, in fact, do not treat us so well, arrest is likely enough sooner or later. In such a context, why would I or others of my class be more afraid in our revolt for a fullness of life than we are in our activities for survival? Why would we hold back? The truth is that it is generally the more privileged — like those in RBC — who *call for compromise*, who get the permits, negotiate with the pigs and play all the nauseating reformist games that guarantee the continuance of the world of domination and exploitation, the world that fucks me over (yes, this is personal). Why? Because they have something to lose if this world falls, and they have the means within the present society to build “a space that is empowering, accepting, inclusive, accessible, communicative and community oriented.” People in my position — near the bottom of American society — cannot afford to do this. Our only choice, if we wish to live full and intense lives is, in fact, to rise up against this world — and that does mean risking (though certainly trying to avoid) prison or worse — just as so many of our survival tactics do. When you’re at the bottom, illegality and prison are not an abstract question. They are part of your reality.

The RBC talk of solidarity. Whatever their “economic privilege”, they also suffer from the alienation and emptiness of

life in this society. For this reason, I can recognize their potential as sincere comrades in the struggle to destroy the social order, but that potential can only be realized in uncompromising revolt against all domination and exploitation. I have known solidarity precisely in terms of who will have my back when I take the risks necessary for taking back my life. Those from economically privileged backgrounds, those who actually have a place in this world as it is, have a choice in this matter. When they use gender issues and abstract conceptions of solidarity as an excuse to back away from real revolt, they are in fact choosing to refuse solidarity to those of us who will not back down, because the fullness we demand from life depends on it. It is obvious that when push comes to shove, the RBC cannot be trusted to have my back.

A critique of the Black Bloc is, indeed, in order, but “Stick it to the Manarchy” fails completely as a critique of anything. The subject of their critique is merely an ideological construct in their own heads, a moral high ground on which they stand to condemn those immersed in a struggle for their lives. With existence becoming ever more miserable and precarious, I consider it irresponsible for those anarchists who are not themselves prepared for total revolt against this world to argue for pacification. This world needs to be demolished. When do we begin?

**Wolfi Landstreicher;** venomousbutterfly@onebox.com  
To check out the full text of *Stick It to the Manarchy*, see the March 2001 A-Infos archive @ [www.ainfos.ca/en](http://www.ainfos.ca/en)



### WHAT I BELIEVE TODAY

I believe that the current state of human civilization is killing the planet.

I believe I will see radical changes in my lifetime - for better or worse, I don't know.

I believe that actual reality is much larger than our 3-D perception and our senses.

I believe in magic.

I believe that we all have to get our shit together after having been totally fucked over by this society, this culture, and this civilization.

I believe that we all have incredible potential as individuals. I believe in the power of music to transform minds, save lives, and mend hearts.

“I believe in the radical possibilities of pleasure, babe” (K. Hanna/Bikini Kill)

I believe in being honest, even when it hurts.

I believe that our current perceptions of gender are inadequate to express the depth of human experience, and in fact are dualistic and limiting.

I believe in the power of communication.

I believe in separatism, of all kinds, but do not personally like it too much.

I believe that fucking shit up is a very important thing to do at times.

I believe that the people who “run” this society are profoundly evil.

“I believe that the society in which I live is a patriarchy with power concentrated in the hands of men, and that this patriarchy actively prevents women from becoming free and complete human beings. Women are oppressed by being denied access to economic resources, political power, and control over their own reproduction. This oppression is managed by several institutions, chiefly the family, religion, and the state. An essential part of the oppression of women is control over sexual ideology, mythology, and behavior.” (Pat Califia, *Public Sex*)

I believe that it is time for men to actively question their gender privilege.

I believe that hate is always a dead end, but that anger and direct action can be a key to unlocking doors (literally and figuratively) that would otherwise remain closed.

- from the zine *Made Explicit*

## AGAINST THE MASCULINIZATION OF MILITANCY

There doesn't seem to be a place for strong, militant females in this world. Of course, the historical (and, notably, still dominant) view of women is that of submissive creatures who cannot think or act for themselves. In more recent social movements, women tend to have been relegated to the menial grunt work and behind-the-scenes activities while men provide the talking heads for the media (corporate and independent) and fight on the so-called "front lines" of action. All of this has been critiqued and said before. However, very little is said about the militant, active, unabashedly assertive female.

She meets much criticism, not only from closed-minded men, but also from women who believe she is "male-identified." The idea that she is the way she is merely because she identifies more with the "masculine" than the "feminine" is absurd. Rights to identify with and exhibit such traits as aggressiveness and militancy (commonly associated with masculinity) have been handed to men on a silver platter by both sexists and "feminists" alike, and, consequently, both men and women who tend toward these traits are often condemned by those so-called "feminists."

Too often, anarchist groups and collectives are dominated by the archetypal anarchist: the aggressive, white male. While women are usually involved on some level, men play the prominent roles. "Feminists" harshly critique these groups for not allowing a woman to have her voice, to play a larger role. It is often the case that some, if not many, of these men are sensitive to what a woman has to say, but the woman must take her opportunity to be heard and to act. Men can try day and night to get a woman to do more, to say more, but unless she does try and risks being ignored or marginalized, how can men be blamed for the woman's failure to act? Men should be attentive to a woman's opinions and contributions, but it is not their responsibility (nor should it be!) to coax things out of her; this is patronizing, at best. It is her choice whether or not to act on what she thinks.

Radical women, especially anarchist women, should be proud of their assertiveness. They should exercise and expand it daily. It is inherently passive — a typical trait allowed to women by sexists — to not speak or act until encouraged by a man. Hence, it is ludicrous to say that men should do so to avoid being sexist. Men should listen to women and give them as much consideration as any other person, but they should not be semi-paranoid caretakers, constantly prompting the poor, marginalized woman for input. Women should take, not wait to be given to.

Some recent "feminist" critiques of anarchism have condemned militancy as being sexist and non-inclusive to women. It was claimed that the on-the-streets, aggressive behavior of black bloc members — such as property destruction and confronting the pigs — is sexist because it excludes women. This idea is actually the sexist one. Instead of condemning black bloc men and ignoring black bloc women, both women and men who want to fight the front lines should be welcome and encouraged to do so, while those (male and female) who do not feel comfortable taking such risks can engage in a variety of other activities.

Anarchists should be able and willing to protect themselves as well as others in their community. Anarchist women should at least learn the basics of self-defense in order to protect themselves. Regardless of gender, all anarchists in a community should be prepared to physically protect each other. Another flaw-ridden "feminist" idea is that men should always be at the ready to protect women, but women protecting men is conveniently forgotten. It is a discredit to women to intimate that they cannot assist in physical protection of themselves or others.

In the current barrage of "feminist" opinions, most focus tends to be placed on men and why they are "bad," while the true issue falls by the wayside: anarchists should work within their communities to find ways to accommodate, appreciate, and work with all types of personalities in women. The so-called "feminists" do no favor to their gender by denouncing militant women. As in any revolution, men will not be the only "warriors;" women will also be physically fighting against oppression.

## POLICE STATE IN DAVOS - RIOTS IN ZURICH YET ANOTHER DAY OF MASS ACTION©

**Switzerland** - On January 27th, protesters were turned back by police when they attempted to get to Davos to protest and disrupt the meeting of the World Economic Forum. In response, people blocked roads and rail lines and beat security personnel. Several hundreds of people who were sent back to Zurich rioted; breaking windows, overturning garbage containers, and burning cars. Damage was "massive".

In Davos, Swiss police mounted their biggest security operation in decades to try to prevent protesters from disrupting the conference. All

week, Swiss authorities stopped suspected demonstrators traveling to Davos and turned back many people at the Swiss border. The police tactics drew strong criticism from some of the 36 grassroots groups invited to take part in this year's forum.

"Davos has become a 'fortress' with ominous consequences for the future of global dialogue," several of the groups said in a statement. They said their participation in future forums would depend on the organizers' willingness to support gatherings on the streets.

Claude Smadja, managing director of the World Economic Forum, defended the authorities' tough response. "They decided to break the law. They have to assume the consequences," he said.

After the Davos demonstrators dispersed, protests broke out elsewhere.

In Zurich, around 150 demonstrators skirmished with police during a march through the central shopping district, throwing rocks, setting cars on fire, and breaking shop windows. Police used water cannons, tear gas and rubber batons.

Later on Saturday, up to 1,000 protesters were reported to be congregating near the railway station and were met with police firing tear gas and rubber pellets.

In Berne, police detained two people after a group of about 100 demonstrators against the World Economic Forum threw bottles and stones and damaged parked cars.

In Landquart, a town in the flatlands below Davos, police used tear gas to break up about 300 demonstrators who had been prevented from heading for Davos. They briefly blocked the tracks before boarding a train for Zurich.

In Geneva, about 200 demonstrators tried to get into

the World Trade Organization's headquarters. When prevented, they spray-painted anti-WTO slogans on the walls of the building.

In Madrid, a large demonstration of about 5-7000

people took place to coincide with the anti-capitalist demonstrations against the World Economic Forum. While many people elected to take the free trains from Barcelona and participate in the chaos in Switzerland, many people were on hand in Madrid. The demonstration/march/ fiesta was aimed at showing solidarity with anti-capital-

ist protesters around the world and in Davos, and to show solidarity with immigrants and refugees around the world who are being faced with more increasingly fascist laws. A manifesto was read out in support of the immigrants fighting against these laws and another manifesto by a group of immigrants who occupied a building. The march proceeded with music pumping and chants, such as the ever popular (and all too true) Policia! Assassina! (police are killers). At the final destination, the party continued for another hour or so and grew into a larger fiesta at a main plaza in the busy shopping district of downtown.

While it is encouraging that people are responding to the consolidation of global power in militant ways, it is becoming more and more predictable and less and less effective. The message of how urgent the situation is and how fundamental change must be is beginning to be co-opted by those who wish to use this new momentum to reform the current structure. As the police response in Davos shows, they are ready for these days of MASS ACTION© and will SHUT DOWN™ the cities before we get to trash them. That is why we must be more creative with our resistance (and I don't mean more puppets!). While mass actions still have a place in our struggles, they may have reached the point of becoming only tools of outreach, in which we can "get our message out" to the larger public. There is little hope of them becoming true direct action. Urban insurrection is still a vital component to revolutionary struggle, but it must be spontaneous and come from our emotions and passions, like in Zurich. What is most vital at this time, however, is the spreading of anti-authoritarian and anti-industrial ideas coupled with underground direct action.

**Cars burn in Zurich**



# Ecological Revolution Flourishes on Bougainville

## Indigenous resistance to Australian mining

*"We now understand and have seen with our own eyes the destructive effects of the copper mine operations on our land, our environment, our society and our culture. The mine will remain closed for the rest of our lives"*

- Panguna landowners, 1992

With a population of only 160,000 Bougainville has managed to close and keep closed one of the biggest copper mines in the world. Despite having to fight the Australian (PNG) army, they have held their ground for twelve years with antique guns and home made guns made out of water piping and planks.

At the Freeport mine in West Papua heavily armed state soldiers patrol the outskirts of one of the worlds largest mining operations. The mountains are laid waste, the rivers polluted, whole ecologies decimated and the indigenous life is destroyed. Meanwhile the coffers of the British mining corporation RTZplc swell.

On an island off the eastern side of Papua the story used to be the same. In 1969 a RTZplc copper mine was forcibly established on Bougainville. From the beginning the island's people resisted. News footage of women fighting with riot cops over survey pegs received international coverage. In Bougainville women are the traditional landholders; land is passed "from woman to woman". To put it lightly, on this occasion it was clear their land was not being passed on in the traditional manner. The building of the mine saw 800 villagers landless and another 1,400 without fishing rights as land was seized and rainforest destroyed. The subsistence life of gardening and fishing was destroyed. 220 hectares of rainforest was poisoned, burned and bulldozed.

After 20 years the mine had grown to a huge crater half a kilometer deep and nearly 7km in circumference, creating over a billion tones of waste. This was dumped into the Jaba River valley creating a wall of waste hundreds of meters high, turning one of the islands biggest river systems bright blue.

In 1988, after two decades of ignored protests, petitions and compensation claims that Bougainvilleans had had enough. A handful of islanders stole company explosives destroying electricity pylons, buildings and machinery. By using guerrilla tactics they succeeded in closing the mine.

Until the war broke out in 1988, the mine accounted for 45% of all Papua New Guinea's total export earnings. Without these earnings PNG is going bust. PNG, with the assistance of Australia, responded by sending in the military. State soldiers strafed villages by helicopter. The Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) was formed to defend the land and people from further exploitation. Ten years of war followed.

PNG herded people into 'care centers (concentration camps) and enforced a medical blockade on the island. 10,000 -- one in 16 -- Bougainvilleans died in the conflict. Against the odds, despite being heavily outgunned the BRA succeeded in keeping the mine closed. They pushed the state soldiers off most of their island and forced a peace. The land of the mine is slowly regenerating. The people have returned to their age old subsistence agriculture.

In both cases West Papua and Bougainville, the London-based mining corporation RTZ colonized and destroyed the land, its animals, its plants, and its peoples. In both cases when the people resisted, Western funded and armed state soldiers waged war on them. In both conflicts the same London based mercenaries were employed to attack the indigenous people. In West Papua the soldiers that directly confront the people march under the flag of Indonesia. In Bougainville they march under the flag of Papua New Guinea. Military elites in Jakarta (Indonesia) and Port Moresby (PNG) may command the troops but they in turn are commanded by global corporate elites. Multinational corporations do not respect borders, and neither should the resistance. To understand West Papua, one has to realize that West Papua and Bougainville are different battles in the same war.

After the Second World War the US elite gave each region of the earth a specific role for the expansion of its capital. The Pacific region was to be used primarily for basic resource extraction and export. Along with the dictator

Suharto one of the founders RTZ/ Freeport mine in West Papua was Henry Kissinger, global manager and US Foreign policy guru.

The following fifty years saw mines and oil exploration spread over the entire region. The homes and lands of countless indigenous peoples have been destroyed. The Bougainville and Papuan situations are very similar but there is of course one major difference. In West Papua despite occasional assaults on the mine, the indigenous have until now lost -- on Bougainville the indigenous have been victorious. Why did they win when Papuans have not?

Bougainville has three advantages that West Papua does not have. Firstly, though Australia has pumped money and

Ona, main commander of the BRA and the person who organized the initial attack on the mine, was himself a mine engineer. This level of cultural exposure to modern technology has helped them to fight a guerrilla war. They can use radios, make guns, run vehicles, set up waterpower generators to run their village workshops. They can use dynamite. The BRA has used the abandoned RTZ mine as a supplier of all they need to fight the PNG. Bougainville really is a recycling revolution. In contrast what makes the West Papuan cultures so precious, their literal Stone Age way of life, is a major barrier to their military success. OPM has never gone beyond its traditional fighting style. As they say themselves the OPM is dominant in the jungle but without modern weaponry they can never drive the Indonesians away from the mines and oil fields.

What Bougainville shows most clearly is that "Independence" within the global capitalist system is practically meaningless. The people of PNG despite being "free" are still at the whim of the same mining corporations as their West Papuan brothers and sisters. All over the pacific indigenous people confront the same attacks from state and capital.

When PNG launched its last two operations to wipe out the BRA ('96 and '97), activists from the EF! Network in Britain took action. They invaded and paint bombed RTZ's London HQ, forced the Australian embassy closed for a day and demonstrated outside the PNG embassy. While the peace holds there is little need for solidarity actions. However, PNG/Capitol may try to gain control of Bougainville once again. More action will then be needed. West Papua and Bougainville are different battles in the same war. For this reason supporters of the OPM should mobilize if the BRA is attacked.

The tenacity of Bougainville's self-described 'ecological revolutionaries' has been an inspiration both to western radicals and Pacific indigenous groups. Against the odds they have shown us that 'powerless' people can win. With determination and the right tactics and technology they can defeat multinational corporations and modern armies. We can only hope that more peoples around the world will as the PNG saying goes 'do a Bougainville'.



aid into the PNG military it is still a minor power. For domestic political reasons it would be impossible for Australia to directly intervene rather than through a proxy state. Indonesia on the other hand is a geopolitical superpower with hundreds of thousands of troops at its disposal plus bucket loads of foreign aid. Taking on PNG/Australia was always going to be more realistic than taking on Indonesia.

Secondly, Bougainville is culturally part of the Solomon Islands and for that reason the Solomon's government turned a blind eye to aid boats etc. leaving across the straits to Bougainville. While not supporting the BRA the government was not about to start launching waves of arrests and offensives against BRA sympathizers within its territory. The situation for West Papuans in PNG is very different. Though tens of thousands have sought refuge across the artificial western created border they have not always found it. OPM (Free Papua Movement) training camps in the

mountainous PNG border area have long been used in the struggle. The last year alone reportedly saw 5,000 go through basic training, (whatever that means in an army with very few guns!) However, the PNG military has occasionally cracked down on them, with sporadic jailing of OPM activists. Only this month PNG arrested one of the OPM longest fighting and most respected guerrilla leaders, Mathias Wenda. He and 13 others have been charged with entering PNG illegally and raising an illegal army. The border area is very remote and this combined with the state of the over stretched and collapsing PNG army (a factor the OPM can thank the BRA for) has insulated them against what

PNG would have liked to have done years ago. Increasingly PNG is turning a blind eye to Indonesian operations within its territory and has begun serious cross border co-operation.

The third factor, which has helped the Bougainvilleans, is the contemporary nature of themselves as a people. Bougainvilleans are smaller in population than the Papuans, but this is balanced out by the level of organization and mobilization possible in a people who share a common culture. Papuans on the other hand represent 25% of all languages on earth, a major stumbling block to organizing. A small amount of Bougainvilleans also have knowledge of basic technology having worked in the RTZ mine. Francis

### Educate Yourself!

- \* Background information and regular updates can be found on [www.ecoaction.org/bv](http://www.ecoaction.org/bv)
- \* Get on the Australian Bougainville Freedom Movement (BFM) e-mail news list by sending your address to [v.john@uts.edu.au](mailto:v.john@uts.edu.au)
- \* For an overview read "Peace on Bougainville" *Do or Die* vol. 8, available online at [www.ecoaction.org/dod](http://www.ecoaction.org/dod)



"It does not matter if we are regarded as primitives. The struggle to free West Papua is not to take away one government and then replace it with a new government. We do not want to administer ourselves [to] the capitalists 'profit making'. It is a struggle between modern society and tribal people. It is a struggle between an ecologically harmonious life and an environmentally exploitative one."

-- From OPM/TPN Communiqué 1/29/99

# THE EZLN IS NOT ANARCHIST ... continued from page 1

confined to their barracks. An independent governing authority has begun to develop — certainly to give credibility in the eyes of the states of the world to an autonomous Bougainville — and this will likely have a negative effect on the reconstructing of the community and the environment, making it easier for Bougainville to be drawn into the world economic order. As was said in *Terra Selvaggio*: "The history of rebellion is much too full of liberators who transform themselves into jailers and radicals who 'forget' their programs of social change once they've seized power." Nonetheless, the small dimensions of the island combined with the absence of any urban centers makes the process of construction of state power difficult. And the determination of the people not to allow the mine to reopen is their best protection against the expansion of capital on the island.

While the indigenous people of West Papua and Bougainville have not really yet been integrated into the capitalist market at all — giving them certain advantages both in terms of clarity about what they have to lose and in terms of knowledge of the still mostly wild terrain on which they fight — other indigenous people and small-holding peasants who were already involved in the market economy to some extent, but have maintained some real control over their subsistence, are now seeing this last bit of self-determination eaten away and are responding.

In India, groups of peasants have organized to attack genetically engineered crops. Recognizing the genetic engineering of seeds and the patenting of genetic structures as methods for finalizing the control of multi-national corporations over food production, even on the subsistence scale, these groups have attacked GMO fields and the property of corporations like Monsanto. But by no means do these groups have a clear critique of capitalism or the state. So alongside these direct attacks, the groups also petition the Indian state to make laws protecting them and preserving their place within the present social order. Their movement in its present form remains a movement for anti-global reform.

Similarly, the Landless Rural Workers Movement (MST), which arose a few years ago in Brazil, combines tactics of land occupations and other forms of direct action with petitions and demands to the state and calls for legal protection and enforcement. Joao Pedro Stedile — national coordinator of this unquestionably hierarchical organization — explained a recent occupation of a Monsanto agribusiness complex in the state of Rio Grande do Sul in terms of enforcing a strict reading of the law prohibiting the commercial cultivation of genetically modified seeds. This appeal to law to justify the occupation and destruction of GM crops indicates that some of those in this movement still see a place for themselves within the present society. But this movement also exists within the context of a larger struggle of indigenous people, workers, students and youth, including some who are consciously anarchist. Some of the methods of struggle indicate the existence of a tension toward insurrection that runs counter to the reformist tendencies.

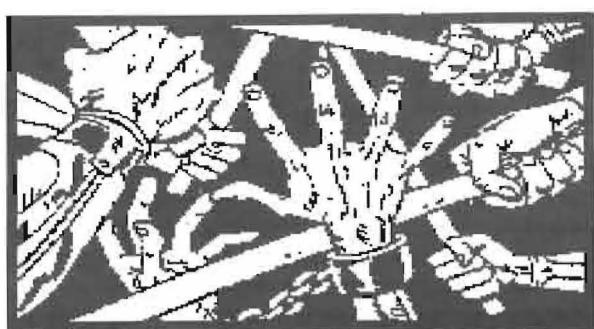
Large-scale social conflict also broke out in Bolivia last year. In April, the Bolivian ruling class in conjunction with a British multi-national attempted to privatize water. In protest, peasants organized highway blockades. Strikes and other forms of protest and direct action followed. The plans to privatize the water were shelved and the British multi-national was expelled from the country. In an attempt to stem the revolt, the government signed agreements with many groups of people, but not surprisingly reneged on them. This led to larger mobilizations in September and October. Peasants blockaded the highways, paralyzing nearly the whole country. It comes as no surprise that in a country with an indigenous majority, this movement of peasants would be clear in its denunciation of the discrimination against the indigenous peoples. Although various parties, unions and hierarchical structures have attempted to take the lead in this struggle, it has largely managed to maintain autonomous and non-hierarchical forms. Furthermore, the various groups of exploited and oppressed people in struggle have recognized the necessity of a generalized struggle. Unfortunately, some groups did have leaders, and these generally turned to reform. Nonetheless, the struggle continues, no one trusts the promises of the government and the state infrastructure is tottering.

In Ecuador, as well, at the beginning of this year, indigenous groups, along with students and workers, rose up to protest austerity measures imposed on Ecuador by the IMF as a prerequisite for getting a loan. Protesters blocked several major highways including the Pan-American Highway and there have been confrontations with soldiers. Television and radio transmission posts were occupied in Chimborazo, as well as provincial government offices. But the indigenous leaders are demanding dialogue with the government. Of course, this is the way of leaders, and it is difficult to know

to what extent this reflects the desires of the indigenous population. Certainly, the blockades and the fighting spirit indicate a will to revolt, but it could easily be sidetracked into the democratic ruse.

Probably the best known of the indigenous struggles is the one happening in Chiapas, Mexico. This struggle came into the light of day with the uprising of January 1, 1994. The strength of the insurrection, the precision of its targets and the general situation from which it arose aroused immediate sympathy among leftists, progressives, revolutionaries and anarchists throughout the world. The uprising was led by the Zapatista Army for National Liberation (EZLN). The sympathy for this struggle is understandable as is the desire to act in solidarity with the indigenous people of Chiapas. What is not understandable, from an anarchist perspective, is the mostly uncritical support for the EZLN. The EZLN has not hidden their agenda. Their aims are clear already in the declaration of war that they issued at the time of the 1994 uprising, and not only are those aims not anarchist; they are not even revolutionary. In this declaration, nationalist language reinforced the implications of the army's name. Stating: "We are the inheritors of the true builders of our nation," they go on to call upon the *constitutional* right of the people to "alter or modify their form of government." They speak repeatedly of the "right to freely and democratically elect political representatives" and "administrative authorities." And the goals for which they struggle are "work, land, housing, food, health care, education, independence, freedom, democracy, justice and peace". In other words nothing concrete that could not be provided by capitalism. Nothing in any later statement from this prolific organization has changed this fundamentally reformist program. Instead the EZLN calls for dialogue and negotiation, declaring their willingness to accept signs of good faith from the Mexican government. Thus, they send out calls to the legislature of Mexico, even inviting members of this body to participate in the EZLN march to the capital, the purpose of which is to call on the government to enforce the San Andres peace accords worked out by Cocopa, a legislative committee in 1995. So we see, regardless of the fact that they are armed and masked, the EZLN is a reformist organization. They claim to be in the service of the indigenous people of Chiapas (much as Mao's army claimed to be in the service of the peasants and workers of China before Mao came to power), but they remain a specialized military organization separate from the people, not the people armed. They have made themselves the public spokespeople for the struggle in Chiapas and have channeled it into reformist demands and appeals to nationalism and democracy. There are reasons why the EZLN has become the darling of the anti-globalization movement: its rhetoric and its aims present no threat to those elements in this movement who merely seek more national and local control of capitalism.

Of course, the social struggles of exploited and oppressed people cannot be expected to conform to some abstract anarchist ideal. These struggles arise in particular situations, sparked by specific events. The question of revolutionary solidarity in these struggles is, therefore, the question of how to intervene in a way that is fitting with one's aims, in a way that moves one's revolutionary anarchist project forward. But in order to do this, one must have clear aims and a clear concept of one's project. In other words, one must be pursuing one's own daily struggle against the present reality with lucidity and determination. Uncritical support of any of the struggles described above is indicative of a lack of clarity about what an anarchist revolutionary project might be, and such support is most certainly not revolutionary solidarity. Each of our struggles springs from our own lives and our own experiences of domination and exploitation. When we go into these battles with full awareness of the nature of the state and capital, of the institutions by which this civilization controls our existence, it becomes obvious that only certain methods and practices can lead toward the end we desire. With this knowledge, we can clarify our own projects and make our awareness of the struggles around the world into a tool for honing our own struggle against the present social order. Revolutionary solidarity is precisely fighting against the totality of an existence based on exploitation, domination and alienation wherever one finds oneself. In this light, revolutionary solidarity needs to take up the weapon of unflinching, merciless critique of all reformist, nationalist, hierarchical, authoritarian, democratic or class collaborationist tendencies that could undermine the autonomy and self-activity of those in struggle and channel the struggle into negotiation and compromise with the present order. This critique must be based in a lucid conception of the world we must destroy and the means necessary to accomplish this destruction.



## UPDATE ON EDUARDO GARCIA AND ESTAFANIA MAURETE

Eduardo Garcia, imprisoned since November, is facing up to 20 years in prison in Spain on charges of terrorism. An active anarchist in Madrid, he has been very much involved in anti-prison struggles. His frequent visits to prisoners helped to facilitate communication among prisoners, which is necessary for the development of concerted struggle, as well as communication between the struggles in the prisons and those in the streets. With the growth of the struggles inside the prisons, the authorities feel the need to cut off such communication. Eduardo's arrest is one attempt to do just that.

Eduardo is accused of sending letter bombs to six journalists known for attacking prison struggles and one politician. The following facts indicate that this is a frame-up:

- 1) The "proofs" offered for the charges are his relationships with "dangerous" anarchist prisoners and 40 grams of firework powder that was supposedly found at his parents' house, but witnesses of the search say that there was no powder, and a video recording of the search (that was conveniently lost by the cops) apparently did not show any powder being found.
- 2) His public activity would make such apparently clandestine activity impossible.
- 3) After his capture, four more bombs of the same sort have appeared.

The press, playing its role as servant of the state, launched a campaign against squats and against the anarchist and autonomous movement with the clear intent of building public support for state repression.

Estafania, who was originally arrested with Eduardo, though released, is still facing charges of conspiracy with regard to the bombings, and other charges as well. A third person is also being sought by the police, but has evaded arrest so far.



## FUCK THE FCC! LONG LIVE RFC!

Early in the morning of Thursday, March 15th, the Federal Communications Commission, along with 8 US Marshals, three local pigs, and other agents arrived with a search warrant, battering ram, and drawn guns to search and seize the long-running micro-power station, Radio Free Cascadia (RFC) 98.5 fm.

People living at the Whiteaker neighborhood residence were awoken and questioned individually as to the operations of the station and people involved. All broadcasting equipment was taken into custody. RFC has been providing an alternative to corporate radio for over three years to the Eugene, Oregon community. In their press release, RFC claims, "We will be back on the air!"

For more info: [radio98.5@efn.org](mailto:radio98.5@efn.org)



# SUBURBAN SPRAWL IN FLAMES!

## Flames of Revolt in Arizona

Unknown individuals have taken up the torch in the battle against encroaching development in the area around the Phoenix Mountain Preserve. Developers, attempting to create an enclave of luxury homes on the edge of the preserve, have found the newly built houses being burnt to the ground before anyone can move in. Damage estimates have surpassed \$5,500,000.

The arsonist(s) are clear about their reasons. They wish to stop suburban sprawl and have chosen to act directly in order to accomplish this. Development has always been an essential part of capitalism. This social system cannot survive unless it expands, and it is beginning to nibble away at the last of the Earth's wild spaces.

Demanding that the state curb the developers' activities is absurd since the state itself is capitalist and is thus dependent upon the expansion of capital for its own continued existence. Thus, the battle against development must become the battle against the state and capital as a whole.

These unknown individuals do not ask for dialogue with power; they do not try to move those in power to do what is impossible. Rather, they act for themselves to destroy that which is itself destroying the living world. Thus, the potential exists within these actions to move beyond this particular battle, to expand this critique in action to a critique of the totality of a civilization based on the commodification and the destruction of wildness, untamed beauty and life.

### The following is taken from an interview with an arsonist from the Coalition to Save the Preserves (CSP) by the corporate media.

He was mountain biking when he first considered burning down somebody's house. He had no prior experience with arson, he says. "Hell no," he exclaims, somewhat offended at the very idea. "I had never committed a crime, period." And why would he? He says he is not the type.

He claims to be a management professional with an "advanced degree" and "healthy income" who works in downtown Phoenix. His confident demeanor and quote "perfect speech" likewise suggest an ambitious and educated man. He is energetic (sometimes intense) and authoritative (sometimes pushy) with a tall, athletic build.

He describes himself as a family man. He says he is worried that his family will discover his secret. Nobody knows about his "evening activities" except the three other people in his "core group," the group known by the cryptic acronym "CSP." They all love to go mountain biking.

And some of his favorite mountaintops are along the Phoenix Mountains Preserve.

On the day it started, the arsonist says, he was biking with friends along the north side of Squaw Peak. They had taken a break to rest, to drink some Gatorade, when one of them pointed out new construction protruding from the edge of the suburbia-filled valley below.

It was a house. A mammoth, \$1.3 million, 10,000-square-foot construction on North Arroya Grande Drive. Yet another new private residence that seemed to take a bite out of their Preserve, another builder encroaching on their bike trail.

The mountain bikers agreed it was horribly out of place and strikingly tacky. Local residents had dubbed it "the casino."

So the arsonist said: "I wish somebody would burn that down." It was an offhand comment, he says. A joke, really. But the only thing that was funny was that none of the other bike riders found it funny. Because, when they thought about it, burning down the mansion didn't seem like such a bad idea. Later, one of the bike riders said something else about the house. A bit of a confession, as it turned out.

"You really want to burn it down?" the rider asked him. "Well, I can show you how."

#### The letter

The letter arrived January 12, the day after New Times published "Burn, Baby, Burn," a story exploring the frustrations of local environmentalists and their conflicting opinions about the Preserve arsons. At the time, an FBI task force had credited an unknown Phoenix serial arsonist with torching nine luxury homes under construction along the

environmentally sensitive Preserve. All the arsons had occurred in the past 10 months, save one in 1998. Damage estimates had exceeded \$5 million, and there was a \$61,000 Silent Witness reward for information leading to the arsonist's arrest.

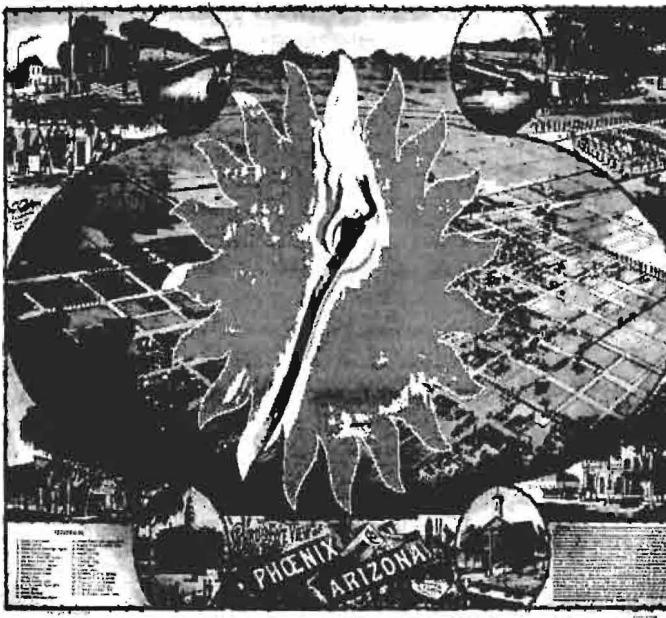
The letter came in a plain vanilla envelope, postmarked Phoenix. A 33-cent stamp showed a leaping deer, a one-cent stamp showed a bird on a branch — appropriately environmental images. There was no return address.

The letter's headline declared "Thou Shall Not Desecrate God's Creation."

In the body text, the author described his attempt to call New Times the day before, taunting that we blew an interview opportunity. The letter also said the group's female member was offended by KTAR radio talk-show host Preston Westmoreland's on-air criticism and assumption that the arsonist was male, so she lit up a house as retaliation on December 20. The note concluded with the CSP's usual epitaph: "In like a ghost — out like a ghost. Happy hunting."

Overall, the author seemed irritated and cocky — enjoying the media attention, yet frustrated at a perceived lack of respect. In each case, a retaliatory threat was hinted for not taking him seriously: New Times wouldn't get an interview, and the critics might inadvertently inspire the CSP to burn down another house.

This letter was a potential bombshell. The author asked for an interview. If we gave the letter to the authorities, the publicity might crush an opportunity to acquire unprecedented insight into the mysteries surrounding the Preserve fires and



the identity of the arsonist. So the letter went into a locked drawer.

And on the cover of the January 18 issue, New Times printed a message intended for one reader: "To 'Thou Shall Not': 602-407-1706."

As the paper filled news racks Thursday morning, dozens of curious readers phoned the number. All the callers asked the same two questions: Why was a phone number on the cover of the paper, and what did "To 'thou shall not'" mean?

#### The call

"'Thou shall not' — I got your message," the man says. He adds, "There are other groups forming."

The arsonist says the CSP has no "direct connection" to the radical environmentalist group Earth Liberation Front, which recently claimed credit for sprawl protest fires in New York and Colorado. The arsonist considers the ELF "kindred spirits," however, whose recent headline-making has been "kind of fun to watch."

He says he called New Times because we correctly described the group's frustration with sprawl, and he chides a recent Republic editorial that dismissed the arsonist as "a loser with matches." The December 28 editorial also accused the arsonist of "arrogance," "ignorance," being "deluded" and being "jealous of those people who have succeeded financially."

Of those descriptions, "arrogant" might fit. The man repeatedly boasts about his group and its ability to elude capture, noting that spotting law enforcement surveillance is easy because "one of us has special training."

"Those who want to niche us as firebugs who enjoy the thrill of watching things burn were sadly mistaken," he says. "There's also a presumption there's only one of us. Because how could you do this if people were working in concert, right?"

"Well, there has to be trust, doesn't there? And that's part of what we are establishing . . . right now . . . with this."

The arsonist offers a face-to-face interview.

He says to be at Patriots Square park at 11 a.m. in two days — Friday. No tape recorders. No photographers. Come alone, sit anywhere and read a copy of "Burn, Baby, Burn."

#### The meeting

Patriots Square park is in downtown Phoenix at Central and Washington, directly across from the Maricopa County Superior Court building. There are a couple fast-food vendors, swirls of grass and brick.

Underneath Patriots Square there is a parking garage. At quarter past 11, a man quickly emerges from the garage stairwell and makes a beeline toward me. He is wearing a disguise, one that's almost comically dramatic: black athletic shoes, shiny black track pants, puffy black jacket zipped to his chin, large black Fly sunglasses and a black ski cap.

"Did you see the paper this morning?" he asks.

*A fire set by the serial arsonist burns near the Mountains Preserve.*

The CSP burned a 5,000-square-foot house in Scottsdale the night before. It was the first CSP arson of 2001, and apparently its debut fire in the McDowell Sonoran Preserve. The arsonist says it was dedicated to the memory of the late Geoffrey Platts, the Scottsdale author and environmentalist. He denies participating in the attack.

The arsonist claims the CSP's activist cells are multiplying, that the fire was set by an offshoot group called the CSP "McDowell Sonoran Preserve Unit." Scottsdale authorities, the arsonist says, better prepare for more fires.

"We're expanding our efforts," the arsonist explains. "Six to eight months ago there was nothing there. Now all these houses are going up. There must be 15 houses under construction, so the pickings are ripe. It's private land, but as far as we're concerned, it's Preserve."

The CSP scouts for new targets during bike rides through the Preserve.

The members look for construction sites along the edge, where builders have recently poured concrete onto virgin desert. They choose luxury houses at an advanced stage of development, ones with accessible routes of "egress and outgress" that are a certain distance from occupied homes. They decide where they will place a small igniter, usually in an inside room facing the desert so the fire has maximum "time to percolate" before being spotted by neighbors. They wait for a calm night — no gusting wind that might spread the fire.

Nothing is ever written down, he says. No cell phone calls. They discuss their plans on mountain-biking excursions. Never anywhere else, never with anybody else. They decide who will participate and who will stay home. Staying home provides the occasional alibi for the three CSP members who have families.

As for the act itself, the Phoenix arsonist never says the word "arson."

The fires are "activities," or "what we do."

What if he met a homeowner whose dream house he burned to the ground? What would he say to that person?

"I'm sorry for the pain," he says. "It's not personal. We've burned your dream, but not your memories — they're unoccupied houses."

The only exception, he notes, was the second time they burned a construction on North Arroya Grande Drive.

After they torched homeowner Lee Benson's first house in April, Benson hired a security guard to stand watch over the second construction. The guard was present every night until 5 a.m. The CSP waited through the fall, waited for the nights to grow longer. By October, the arsonist says, the CSP had an additional hour of darkness for stealthy sabotage after the guard went home. The house was burned at 5:30 a.m.

"That monstrosity stuck out like a sore thumb," he says. "We warned him not to come back. The second mansion fire was set to protest his stupidity. For God's sake, the guy owns a security company."

The North Arroya Grande property has special significance to the arsonist. It's the construction that brought the CSP together, and it was his first fire. Investigators say the serial arsonist's first strike was in 1998, but the arsonist says it was not a group effort. One of their members set that fire on his own, he says. It was the same member who offered to show him how to burn Benson's house last spring.

The arsonist notes that Benson has not attempted to rebuild a third time. He says Benson can no longer find an insurance company to cover the construction. **Mission accomplished.**

# DIRECT ACTION NEWS

April 3

## Arsonists hit Monsanto grain store in Italy

Unknown people torched a Monsanto grain store in northern Italy a week after the government seized seeds suspected of containing banned genetically modified material. According to a Monsanto official, "The assailants attacked our Lodi warehouse either late last night or early this morning, painted "No GM" and "Monsanto killers" on the wall and set fire to soybean and maize seeds." Last week Italian cops seized more than 100 tons of Monsanto maize at the Lodi warehouse, that were suspected of contained banned genetically modified material.

April 1

## 14 Beagles Liberated From Huntingdon Life Sciences by Animal Liberation Front

The ALF liberated 14 beagles from Huntingdon Life Sciences in East Millstone, NJ according to a communique released. HLS, a UK-based animal research laboratory specializing in toxicology testing, has become the target of a hard-hitting campaign in England since early this year.

## Vandal hits vehicles at Medford dealer

Someone etched 2-foot-long scratches into the hoods of 19 vehicles at Lithia Motors in Medford, Oregon according to corporate media reports. The damages were reported just days after someone set 30 SUV's on fire at a Eugene dealership, but cops say the Medford vandalism and the Eugene case probably are unrelated. Most of the cars damaged were used models from the late 1990's, according to a local pig. Damages were estimated at \$9,500.

March 31

## Earth Liberation Front Spikes Trees in Virginia

It seems that the ELF have driven hundreds of steel spikes into trees on a Northern Neck timber tract in Virginia. The head earth raper, Alex Coughlin of Rock Hill Lumber, said the company may have to spend \$30,000 to \$40,000 using metal detectors and taking other safety precautions when it runs the lumber through the sawmill next month. He also said "They haven't discouraged us, It's just made us that more bullheaded. That place belongs to us." Signs were left throughout the 300-acre tract in Westmoreland County this month warning loggers of the spikes.

March 19

## ELF Call for an International Day of Action

As an autonomous cluster of cells within the broader Earth Liberation Front, we call for an international day of action on April 19. This year's Earth Day commemoration will mark the near-completion of mainstream environmentalism's greenwashing, with an international theme of "Clean Energy"—an oxymoron if there ever was one. Simultaneously, corporate and governmental elite from throughout the hemisphere will gather in Quebec City to carry forward the planning process for the Free Trade Area of the Americas, the next escalation of capital's war on Earth and Her people. In response to these threats to our continued existence, and in solidarity with those on the frontlines of the ecological resistance in the streets of Quebec City and throughout the world, we intend to draw attention to the only true solution to the continuing destruction of our planet's ecological integrity—massive resistance to the machinery of global capitalism, liberal democracy and industrial civilization. At the same time, we hope to divert valuable state resources from the inevitable oppression of those standing in opposition to the Summit of the Americas. We invite participation from all interested parties—cells of the Animal Liberation Front, Earth First!, anti-genetix campaigners, and any other group or individual willing to stand with us and declare, "No compromise in defense of Mother Earth!"

Earth Liberation Front

March 23,

## Concerned OSU Students and Alumni Destroy GE Trees at Oregon State University

Open Letter to Steve Strauss, Oregon State University forestry professor and founder of the Tree Genetic Engineering Research Cooperative:

Dear Steve,

During mid-March, three of your genetically engineered (GE) tree research sites were visited by night. The test plots of *Populus* genus trees (poplars and cottonwoods) at these places were independently assessed and found to be a dangerous experiment of unknown genetic consequences. Therefore, we ringbarked or cut down 90% of your trees at OSU's site at the Peavy Arboretum on Arboretum Rd. (off

Hwy 99W north of Corvallis, Oregon). At OSU's tract near Half Moon Bend of the Willamette River (just south of Garden Ave. off Hwy 20 between Corvallis and Albany), we eliminated 60% of the trees. Lastly, every tree was cut down in one test plot at OSU's Agricultural Experiment Station in Klamath Falls, Oregon (on Washburn Way, across from the Kingsley Field). In all, over 1200 of your GE research trees were destroyed. Some of the trees we targeted may have been hybrids and not technically GE. However, your Tree Genetic Engineering Research Cooperative (TGERC) focuses on hybrid poplars as its method for delivering modified genes into its frankentrees. All of the program's research on the *Populus* genus is used for the goal of patenting and commercializing GE trees.

Steve, your exploits with TGERC are socially and environmentally unacceptable. You claim to be undertaking basic independent studies to address environmental concerns, but that claim is belied by the millions of dollars your program receives from huge timber corporations to develop fast growing supertrees for them. The expansion of GE from agriculture to industrial resource extraction, as with trees for timber production, exhibits the slippery slope of biotechnology permeating every part of human interaction with the rest of our natural world.

In 1999, people used similar methods as we have, to attack an AstraZeneca GE tree research site in England. AstraZeneca said the incident seriously affected its eight-year research program and the company decided to end it soon after the incident. Our goal is to do to TGERC what others did to AstraZeneca's program.

You may recall your thoughts about the event: "These environmental extremists are unfortunately making us very paranoid," said Steve Strauss, forestry professor at Oregon State University (Reuters News Service feature article, "Eco-warriors Stunt U.S. Biotech Tree Research," March 2, 2000). Well, Steve, as the saying goes, just because you're paranoid, it doesn't mean that we're not out to get your research.

Very truly yours,  
concerned OSU students and alumni



Corvallis cop checks out damage to GE trees.

## Earth Liberation Front Claims Responsibility For Torching Delta and Pine Land GE Seeds In California

The Earth Liberation Front takes credit for torching the Delta & Pine Land Co. Research cotton gin in Visalia, California on February 20. D&PL continues to pursue its "Terminator technology" despite global opposition to the genetic engineering of plants to produce sterile seeds. Engineering a suicide sequence into the plant world is the most dangerous new technology since nuclear power and needs to be stopped. We chose this warehouse because it contained massive quantities of transgenic cotton seed in storage. But now, this seed will no longer exist to contaminate the environment, enrich a sick corporation, or contribute to its warped research programs. After cutting through a padlock on a door to get into the warehouse, we placed 4 five-gallon buckets filled with half gasoline and half diesel in strategic locations. Windows were broken to provide the fire with oxygen and timers were set. Within just a few minutes the operation was complete. We are the burning rage of a dying planet. Earth Liberation Front (ELF)

Terminate D&PL, cremate Monsanto, burn biotechnology...

## ELF Torches Construction Equipment in N.Y.

"All businesses, large or small, which participate in earth raping industries, will continue to be targeted as a part of the ELF's ongoing campaign to evoke economic damage on those responsible for urban sprawl," from the ELF communique. Damages were estimate at \$25,000 to 50,000.

# Burned bridge will unfortunately be rebuilt

Officials at the Port of Benton are optimistic a railroad bridge that burned Thursday can be rebuilt within a month. The bridge across the Yakima River is part of the only rail link to the port's industrial customers in Richland. It also provides the only rail access to the Hanford Nuclear Reservation. It is not known at this time who caused the fire or why.

# Northwest Heats Up!

... continued from page 1



After weeks of hearing about new "Hate Crime" legislation being proposed in Oregon many were discussing what this meant for the direct action movement and its supporters. The ink on these proposed bills were barely dry when Romania Trucks, located in Eugene, was targeted by an anonymous group. The action destroyed 36 Sport Utility Vehicles (SUVs) and sent the FBI/ATF and the media scrambling to find clues from the burnt out remains of these vehicles. Two days after the arson, the following communiqué was received by the ELF Press Office and was relayed to the media and supporters.

## "CLAIM FOR ROMANIA ARSON

1 million dollars worth of luxury SUV's were torched at Romania Chevrolet. Sucking the land dry, gas-guzzling SUV's are at the forefront of this vile, imperialistic culture's caravan towards self-destruction. We can no longer allow the rich to parade around in their armored existence, leaving a wasteland behind in their tire tracks. The time is right to fight back. Romania Chevrolet is the same location that was targeted last June, for which two earth warriors, Free and Critter, are being persecuted. The techno-industrial state thinks it can stop the growing resistance by jailing some of us, but they cannot jail the spirit of those who know another world is possible. The fire that burns within Free and Critter burns within all of us and cannot be extinguished by locking them up. In this continuous assault on both the planet and ourselves, SUV's destroy the earth while the prison system tries to destroy those who see beyond this empty life. We must strike out against what destroys us before we are all either choking on smog or held captive by the state. Take the power into your own hands. It's your life."

These recent actions by the ELF and other anonymous revolutionaries are another clear indication that the underground ecological resistance movement is growing and spreading like an out of control wildfire. This is a very welcome and encouraging development to those of us who live in the Northwest and who have had to sit by and watch the mainstream environmental movement play their silly legal games with the government for years, while the forests were leveled and "business as usual" continued unopposed. One thing we need to do is continue our level of support for underground actions and help those imprisoned and persecuted by the state. Remember: the state is always responsible for state repression. Lets not blame militants who resist biocide for the actions that the state will take to crush dissent. Lets instead "create one, two, many Romania's!"

For more information on the Earth Liberation Front, to help the North American ELF Press Office or to receive their zine, *Resistance* contact: POB 4783, Portland, OR 97208 [elfpress@tao.ca](mailto:elfpress@tao.ca); [www.earthliberationfront.com](http://www.earthliberationfront.com)

Late Spring 2001

# Costs of Affluence: Part One

Affluence can be thought of as a synonym for, a perhaps no less ambiguous term, "civilization". Civilization is simply a derivative of term "civis" meaning "city" (Heinberg 1997). It is important to understand exactly what the development of cities, and the organization of human societies in urban environment represents. Popular knowledge dictates that civilization came about as the agricultural mode of production enabled populations to increase, and food sources to be more plentiful and reliable. In turn, the newfound "liberation" from nomadic foraging, allowed for ever-increasing stratification and specialization of labor, class, prestige, and power. According to our culture's mythology, it was exactly this stratification that paved and plowed the way for the state, technological advancement, and most importantly, abundance and affluence. In other words, civilization and agriculture provided the ability, through complex social and political organization, to produce ever-increasing amounts of food, to feed ever-increasing numbers of people.

Embedded in our culture's consciousness is the understanding that these profound changes in human society, in essence, created the affluent society. What is lost in this romantic view of the ascension of "civilized man," is the understanding of the significance of the effect such societies had and have on not only the natural environment, but on other societies and cultures, that had and have no desire to be assimilated into a civilized and agricultural existence.

The "affluence" that civilizations have created for themselves, or more accurately, for their rulers and elites has always been at the expense of those around them. Heinberg summarizes this well in writing, "...The history of civilization in the Near East, Far East, and Central America, is also the history of kinship, slavery, conquest, agriculture, overpopulation, and environmental ruin (Heinberg 1997)." This quote identifies many of the major costs of civilization, or "the affluent society." The area, in which I will focus on is that of conquest.

As Heinberg suggests, we may think of the history of civilization and affluence as synonymous with the atrocities he listed; of which, conquest, may be the one of the most important. This phenomenon has been integral to the creation of civilized "affluent societies" for millennia. Here, I will address the phenomenon of conquest, within the context of modern history. Using the case of New World conquest, and the current case of oil drilling in U'Wa land, I will show that the inherent logic, structure, and ideology that is implicit in building and expanding historic and modern empires, is consistent with those of the first ancient civilizations.

The case of New World conquest is broad and may even appear to be trite, as traditional myths have been increasingly challenged in recent years. However it is, and will continue to be, important to study and understand, as the same fundamental logic and ideology that legitimized mass genocide is still with us today in the form of corporate globalization.

After 32 days at sea the ships found land. At first site the ships, the natives approached, welcoming with gifts. Columbus first thoughts, as recorded in his journal, were: "With fifty men we could subjugate them all and make them do whatever we want (Zinn: 1997c: 3)." His motivation to make this a reality was clear, he would get 10% of whatever riches were obtained, control over the discovered lands, and the honorable title: Admiral of the Ocean Sea.

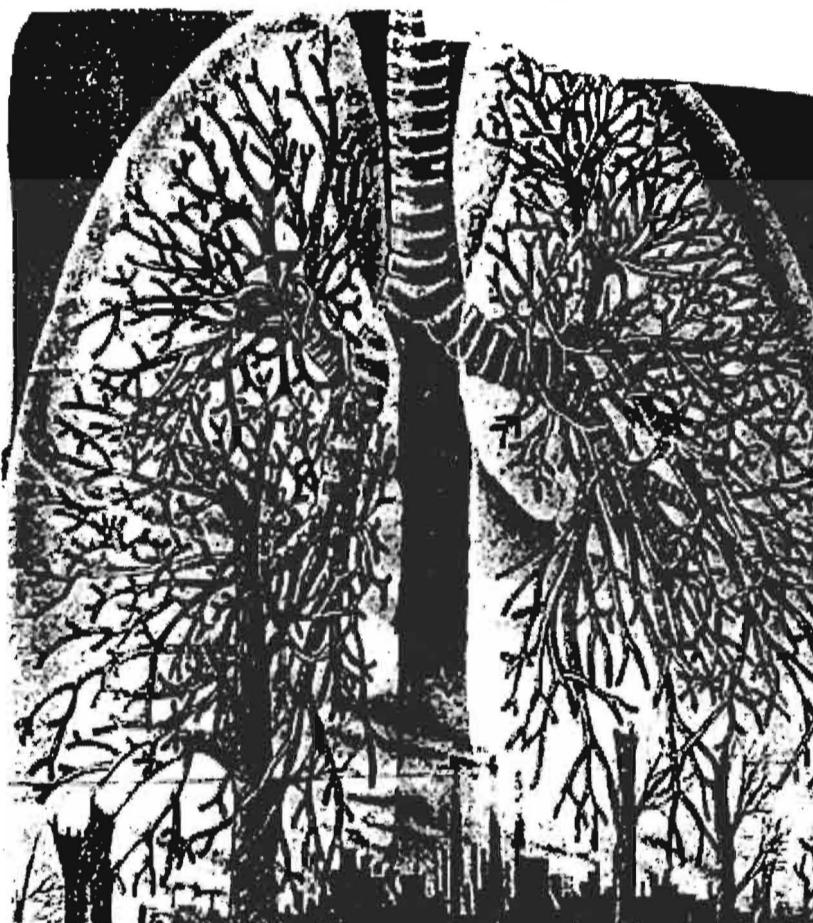
Columbus noticed that the natives wore gold in their ears. To him, this was license to capture them and force them to lead his associates to the source. The fever for gold field discovery took greater hold, upon the sight of gold specks in a river in Haiti and the sight of a gold mask shown by a native chief (Zinn 1997c: 5). Despite the existence of gold, it did not turn out to be quite as abundant as expected. In order to have something to show for this expedition, Columbus took slaves back to Spain. Many of them died in transit.

Upon returning to Madrid, he gave a report to the royal court in which he spoke of the rivers, "of which the majority contain gold...There are many spices, and great mines of gold and other metals... (Zinn 1997c: 5)." The report Columbus gave was far from accurate. It ended up being more of a desperate attempt to attribute divine ordinance to the continuation of his mission to provide slaves and gold to the state, and the word of god to the savages. However, his acting before the elites worked; he was

given 17 ships this time and over 12,000 men (Zinn 1997: 6).

To officiate the purpose and instructions of the second voyage, a memorial was written on the "settlement and government" of the islands of Indies. This formal document served, more accurately, the purpose of the laying out instructions as to how to deal with the immense amounts of gold expected to be retrieved. Sale writes on the nature of this document, "Above all, as we might by now expect, the overriding concern was for gold, with nearly two-thirds of the document given over to the process by which the governor (Colon himself, of course) and local officers would control the gathering, melting, storing, selling, and shipment of the metal (Sale 1991: 127)." He goes on to quote a direct line from the document in which Columbus states, "owing to the greed for gold, everyone will prefer to seek it rather than engage in other necessary occupations (Sale 1991:127)."

The intent of conquest was clear: gold was to be obtained at all cost. At this point, Columbus had many more grand promises to fulfill than he did initially. This fact and many other factors led to the realization of indescribable suffering for the natives. Here I will detail the costs of creating the affluent society in terms of the immediate and gradual effects



of conquest on the natives of the New World.

Though, as word spread of the intent of the invaders many tribes abandoned villages, the imminent threat was unavoidable. Those that were rounded up were forced into slavery to seek out gold fields. All individuals that were 14 years of age or older were forced to retrieve a set amount of gold every quarter of a year. If they were able to meet the quota, they were given copper necklaces to denote their tribute, if they were seen without these symbols, they were killed (Zinn 1991: 6). On Haiti alone, after mass suicides, and mass murder of the 250,000 natives alive prior to contact, half were dead (Zinn 1991: 7).

The same fate would come for peoples all over the New World. Ponting sums up the costs of creating the affluent society in the New World in writing:

"Just how rapidly the vulnerable native societies in the Americas could collapse is demonstrated by events on Santo Domingo, one of the first islands to be discovered by Columbus. At the time of the Spanish conquest the population was about one million, yet within forty years, after intense exploitation, slavery and many deaths through European diseases, there were only a few hundred natives left." (Ponting 1993c:130)

The monetary gain to be acquired by civilized nations was the initial impetus for the genocide that occurred in the New World. Zinn characterizes this impetus clearly, "It seems there was a frenzy in the early capitalist states of Europe for gold, slaves, for products of the soil, to pay the bondholders and stockholders of the expeditions, to finance the monarchical bureaucracies rising in Western Europe...These were the violent beginnings of an intricate system of technology, business, politics, and culture that would dominate the world for the next five centuries." (Zinn 1997:12)

But underneath this superficial reasoning, lies deep theological, intellectual, and ideological roots of European expansion and conquest. An understanding of the paradigms expressed by figures such a Christopher Columbus is just as integral to understanding the costs of creating the affluent society, as an understanding of the reasons to obtain material wealth. In other words, we can recognize reflectively that greed is morally corruptive, but if we look no further than this, we may never question the fundamental intellectual, ideological, and theological pretexts that allow civilizations to conquer other lands and peoples.

The first layer beneath the outright greed, is that of Christopher Columbus' utilitarian view towards the natural world. Columbus expressed appreciation for the beauty of the lands he had discovered, was inextricably tied to his vision of the beauty transformed into tangible riches. To Columbus, the beautiful trees represented a limitless supply of ships that could be built; and the exotic plants would certainly provide medicinal spices (Sale 1991:105).

A utilitarian view of the natives themselves would follow Columbus in the form of the reading of what was called "the Requerimiento", to the captives. This statement was a like reading them their rights, so to speak. It informed them

of their immediate obligation to recognize the divinity of God and the Spanish Church, to relinquish all of their possessions, and to be wholly obedient to the conquerors. Of course none of this was translated, nor even delivered with a pretense of an attempt to send a clear statement to the Indians themselves. Rather, writes author David E. Stannard, "the proclamation was merely a legalistic rationale for a fanatically religious and fanatically brutal people to justify a holocaust (Stannard 1992: 66)."

Clearly, in order for such an arrogant, inhumane, and utilitarian practice to occur these men must have been very certain of the legitimacy of their actions. In order to be impervious to remorse and moral questioning, more than simple greed must have guided these men. The use of religious superiority appears to have been a perfect justification for the subjugation of "lesser" peoples.

The Swiss philosopher, Paracelsus, dealt with the concept of what would later be termed "polygenesis" in the early 16th century. According to him, all colored people were not descendants of Adam and Eve; rather, they were descended from inferior and separate progenitors (Stannard 1992: 209). This view of non-Christian colored people as "inferior," falls in line with Aristotle's Great Chain of Being upon which all life forms are assigned a position based on advancement toward the anthropocentric and ethnocentric climax of high civilization.

This logic has been at the core of western thought, and the premise responsible for expansion and conquest for millennia. In Columbus' time, it was enough to identify the people as savages without god, nor civilization. Author, Francis Jennings writes on this,

"The conquerors of America glorified the devastation they wrought in visions of righteousness, and their descendants have been reluctant to peer through the aura. Decent men with pigmentless skins no longer overtly espouse delusion of peculiar grandeur, but the myths created by the cant of conquest endure in many forms to mask the terrible tragedy that was Europe's glory. Although the ideologists of conquest can no longer evoke admiration for holy wars or pseudobiology, they have yet one great and powerful system of myth among their resources. In it the Christian Caucasians of Europe are not only holy and white but also civilized, while the pigmented heathens of distant lands are not only idolatrous and dark but savage. Thus the absolutes of predator and prey have been preserved, and the grandeur of invasion and massacre has kept its sanguinary radiance." (Jennings 1975: 6)

Ultimately, the costs of creating the affluent society in the case of New World conquest have resulted in nothing short of genocide for the indigenous people enslaved and decimated in the name of Christianity and civilization. Beyond this example (of the inherently exploitative nature of civilization based on the accumulation of wealth in the form of land, labor, and natural resources), what is most insidious about the history of European atrocity in the New World is the ideological framework from which it operates. This framework can be observed in action as we speak; though now it appears within the new methodological framework of corporate globalization.

## Waitangi Day Celebration of Indigenous Survival

Waitangi Day is a day of mourning for Maori. Our only celebration is the celebration of our survival. February 6th 1840 was the day the Treaty of Waitangi was signed. So on this day we remember the beginning of broken promises by those colonizers of old and the continuation of these broken promises by the current Government of New Zealand. These erupted into land wars and we have been at odds with them ever since.

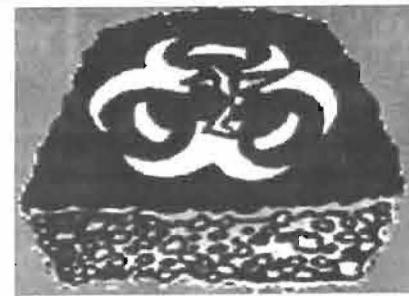
We immediately recognized the new colonizers, those multi-national companies and corporates who, like the colonizers of the past will again wreak havoc upon our society for imperialist profit. Maori have a long and proud tradition of struggle and resistance against colonization. The struggle against colonization is the struggle for Tino Rangatiratanga.

We remember the blood of the ancestors that stains the land and from that we take our resolve from the whakataukii - ka whawhai tonu matou ake ake ake! [We will fight on forever and ever!].

A part of resisting against colonization is linking, networking and working with others who are also fighting the global expansion of corporate capital. Our resistance is as global as their capital!

For us the struggle against colonization and neo-colonization is the struggle for Tino Rangatiratanga. There are many different meanings for Tino Rangatiratanga and the concept itself is part of a rich and ongoing debate in Maori society. The word 'tino' is an intensifier and the word 'rangatiratanga' broadly speaking relates to the exercise of 'chieftainship'. Its closest English translation is self-determination -although many also refer to it as 'absolute sovereignty' or Maori independence. Such a concept embraces the spiritual link Maori have with 'Papatuauku' (Earthmother) and is a part of the international drive by indigenous people for self determination.

This year the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Helen Clark won't be visiting Waitangi. We wouldn't either if we had been part of a 'Labour' party that spawned the likes of 'Mad Mike Moore' current head of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and Far Right Wing Party- ACT. The privatization agenda initiated by the 'Labour Party' shows that the 'Labour Party' is neither pro-indigenous nor pro-Labour. They were lying in 1840 and they are lying now. Mauri ora ki te whenua. TINO RANGATIRATANGA! noho ora mai Aotearoa Educators.



## KRRS activists destroy Bt cotton

Radical farmers in Savlanga, India destroyed a Bt Cotton crop in the presence of police last month as part of their struggle against the use of the genetically-modified seeds. Volunteers of the newly-formed 'Hasiru Sene' (Green Brigade)-the youth wing of the KRRS - rushed to the field and destroyed it by setting it on fire. No arrests were made, as the cops watched the incident helplessly. When contacted, the farmer said he was not unhappy over the incident and had no regrets as he had not grown the Bt cotton trial crop

## Life For Sale as Never Before: The Human Genetic Map Released

Explorers have discovered a vast, untouched frontier, as full of riches and resources as anyone could imagine. This new world promises to change the human experience more than anything has for hundreds, if not thousands of years. Some of our most fundamental problems will be solved, we'll understand life as never before, and there's a whole lot of money to be made.

It should be no surprise, someone else already lives there. Fortunately, they are of no use to us and aren't even human beings. They stand no chance of stopping our abuse of their home.

Sound familiar? It ought to, because the practice of "discovering" a "new" place and colonizing it have been justified with the same language for hundreds of years. The process continues today. Now it is the building blocks of life itself that are targeted for exploitation. Indigenous people will suffer in this new wave of colonization, as will a whole new (and beautiful) level of life. On Monday February 12th, after years of research all around the globe, the genetic structures of human DNA were shown to the public for the first time.

The taming of these fundamental mysteries is closely related to the destruction of the earth's last biocentric, indigenous cultures. As if colonization of the Genetic Frontier isn't frightening enough, this conquest is decimating tribal people and their ecosystems.

In recent years, both the publicly funded (by the National Institute of Health and, strangely, the Department of Energy) and privately funded efforts (by Celera Genomics, arguably the most powerful genetics corporation in the world) working to map the genetic structure of human beings ("the human genome") have been accused of a crime called Biopiracy. First-world scientists have traveled to undeveloped parts of the world to extract DNA from healthier, more robust indigenous peoples and the ecosystems they live in. The scientists then patent the DNA they acquire from these samples, never sharing the huge profits with those from whom the resources originated. No medicines are shared, because even if indigenous people could somehow afford them, the science is aimed at curing the diseases of industrial civilization.

In the skewed logic of colonialism, indigenous cultures not exploiting their resources for maximum profit and industry are declared to be wasting them. The resources are taken and the people destroyed. This is how colonizing cultures have treated tribal people and their land all around the world. In this case, it is not the geneticists who wipe out indigenous societies, but they take from them whatever is of value; then the indigenous cultures are destroyed by neoliberal economics, "The War On (Some) Drugs," foreign aid development projects, or simple military force.

Everyone can look into history now and understand what Europeans did to Native Americans 500 years ago was wrong. Many people today, if they learn about it, realize that biopiracy and contemporary destruction of indigenous people and their ecosystems- are morally wrong as well. How many of us, though, pondered the ominous events on the horizon when Rick Weiss, a reporter for the Washington Post wrote on Sunday February 11th the following passage in celebration of the human genetic map's public release.

"Most of the rest of the human genome is filled with weird lifelike entities that have settled in the genome like squatters. Among them are microscopic bits of foreign DNA

that live like parasites on human DNA and even smaller bits that sponge off those parasites."

"Although scientists have known that such critters existed in the human genome, only now have they been able to see how many there really are, how they are distributed among people's genes, and how these complex communities evolved inside the cells of human ancestors over millions of years.

"Taken together, the new findings show the human genome to be far more than a mere sequence of biological code written on a twisted strand of DNA. It is a dynamic and vibrant ecosystem of its own, reminiscent of the thriving world of tiny Who's that Dr. Seuss's elephant, Horton, discovered on a speck of dust.

"Some parts of the genome are rich in human genes, like biodiverse tropical rainforests, where genes crucial for human life- and some that cause disease- perform their various jobs in the body...Hundreds of other [genes] are expected to turn up in the next few years, speeding the development of new drugs and diagnostic tests."

Other regions of the genome are essentially genetic 'deserts,' where there's nary a human gene for as far as the eye can see but where life, of a sort, perseveres nonetheless. Like genes, the entities living in these vast stretches of the human genome are made of DNA, the doubly coiled molecule of heredity. But they don't contain coded messages to make anything useful for the human body.

"Most are able to persist and replicate within the human genome but are so dependent on the genome that they can never leave it."

It might seem trivial to worry about life forms so small, standing in the way of such a wealth of information, power and profit. But who amongst us is willing to leap into exploiting the next "biodiverse tropical rainforest" inhabited by "complex communities" so dependent on their "dynamic and vibrant ecosystem" that they "can never leave it?" We certainly can't call such life forms "squatters!"

More important is the question: who will stand up and stop those who are exploiting this new frontier, as well as the human bodies and "full-sized" ecosystems that these genetic communities created in the first place? Will we be able to prevent the same ignorant, cruel histories of destruction seen in colonialism's first wave from being repeated today? A movement has already begun, and it is based in the communities who have the best perspective and most at stake in the issue.

In 1995, 17 organizations created by indigenous people from North, South and Central America ratified the Declaration of Indigenous Peoples of the Western Hemisphere Regarding the Human Genome Project. It reads, "Our responsibility as Indigenous Peoples is to insure that the continuity of the natural order of all life is maintained for generations to come. In the long history of destruction which has accompanied Western colonization we have come to realize that the agenda of non-indigenous forces has been to appropriate and manipulate the natural order for the purposes of profit, power and control. Genetic technologies, which manipulate and change the fundamental core and identity of any life form, are an absolute violation of the principles of nature and create the potential for unpredictable and therefore dangerous consequences. Therefore, we the indigenous people participation in this meeting, reject all programs involving genetic technology.

We oppose the patenting of all natural genetic materials. We hold that life cannot be bought, owned, sold, discovered or patented, even in its smallest form. We denounce all instruments of economic apparatus such as NAFTA, GATT and the WTO, which continue to exploit people and natural resources to profit powerful corporations assisted by governments and military forces of developed countries. We call on our brothers and sisters of the indigenous nations around the world and concerned people in the international community to stand up and unite in our efforts to protect the natural diversity and integrity of all life."

By 1996, according to the Indigenous Peoples Council on Biocolonialism, the US Department of Commerce had already applied for patents of the genetic "cell lines" of indigenous individuals from Panama, Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. Referring to Indigenous populations as "isolates of historic interest (IHI's)" the Human Genome Diversity Project moved to collect DNA samples from indigenous people around the world, immortalize them with cell replication technology, and store them in gene banks in order to "avoid the irreversible loss of precious genetic information." This presumes, of course, that the people themselves will be destroyed.

The Indigenous Peoples Council on Biocolonialism writes, "In this new age of bio-prospecting, indigenous knowledge and biological resources are extremely threatened by appropriation. Tribes must prepare to protect their biological resources from exploitation."

Herman Merivale once wrote, "The history of European settlements in America, Africa and Australia, presents everywhere the same general features- a wide and sweeping destruction of native races by the uncontrolled violence of individuals, if not of colonial authorities, followed by tardy attempts on the part of governments to repair the acknowledged crime.... Desolation goes before us, and civilization lags slowly and lamely behind."

Merivale made that observation not from the vantage point of history, but in 1861. According to anthropologist John H. Bodley, it was between the years 1800 and 1930 that indigenous societies around the world lost between 80 and 95 percent of their populations due to colonization. The last of those people, and the intact ecosystems they live in, are being ravaged once more as European culture seeks to plunder the tropical rainforests and complex communities of the newly discovered genetic frontier. Countless philosophers have theorized why some cultures seem obligated to perpetually expand, at every one else's expense. We need to get to the bottom of these issues in our culture, so that the recurring narrative of colonialism can be challenged.

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For more info on the Human Genome Project contact:  
The Campaign Against Human Genetic Engineering  
<http://www.users.globalnet.co.uk/~cahge>



# Masking Up And The Black Bloc: A Pre-Seattle History by Daniel Dylan Young

*"Those in authority fear the mask for their power partly resides in identifying, stamping and cataloguing: in knowing who you are...our masks are not to conceal our identity but to reveal it...Today we shall give this resistance a face; for by putting on our masks we reveal our unity; and by raising our voices in the street together, we speak our anger at the facelessness of power..."*

from a message printed on the inside of 9000 masks distributed at the June 18th, 1999 Carnival Against Capital which destroyed

the financial district of central London

At the WTO protests in Seattle last year, somewhere from 100 to 300 anarchists and others dressed up in black and systematically trashed the storefronts of odious multinational corporations. Since then the tactic of the "Black Bloc" has been getting quite a bit of attention from different people concerned with social change. All sorts of upper middle class, trust-fund progressives and liberals have prattled on moralistically to great length about how there is no room for such behavior in their movement. At the same time, the Black Bloc in Seattle inspired a renewed interest in militant protest tactics which do not placate authority or bow to its power. The N30 Black Bloc, along with many other aspects of the events in Seattle, has also inspired radical anarchists to stop hiding out inside liberal activist groups with reformist agendas, and start being more vocal in their demands for revolution and total social change. Besides the rapid proliferation of anarchist publications and organizations, clear evidence of this resurgence of anarchism in the United States can be seen in the large Black Blocs which were present on April 16th in Washington D.C., at the Democratic and Republican National Conventions this summer, and at many other marches, protests and actions from sea to shining sea. For good or ill, it seems that in the last year the Black Bloc has become an American tradition, and it all started with those brave kids back in Seattle.

Or did it? In fact, November 30th was far from the first time that a large group of radicals dressed up in black with black masks in order to engage in militant protest in anonymity and solidarity. The Black Bloc as an agreed upon protest tactic may be as much as 20 years old. Its origins in fact lie with the European Autonomia or autonomists, a radical social movement that didn't even necessarily proclaim itself anarchist, though many of its tactics and ideas have become widely appreciated and adopted by self-proclaimed anarchists.

## About Autonomy

Autonomia, Autonomia, or autonomists have been the names used for various popular social change and countercultural movements in Italy, Germany, Denmark, Holland and other parts of Europe in the last 3 decades. All these different movements have sought to radically oppose authority, domination and violence anywhere that they exist in contemporary life (which is pretty much everywhere). Autonomy in this case does not mean some kind of regional superiority complex or isolationism, as with statist nationalism, nor does it mean individual autonomy at the expense of the majority, as is the basis of capitalism. What autonomists value and desire is the freedom for individuals to choose others with whom they share an affinity, and band together with them to survive and fulfill all of their needs and desires collectively, without interference from greedy, violent individuals or huge inhuman bureaucracies.

The first so-called autonomists were those individuals involved in the Italian Autonomia movement that got its start during the Hot Autumn of 1969, a time of intense social unrest. Throughout the 1970s in Italy a widespread movement for total social change was initiated by autonomous groups of factory workers, women and students. Capitalists, labor unions and the statist Communist Party bureaucracy had nothing to do with this movement, and in fact worked hard to repress and stop it. Yet the power structure was often at a loss with how to deal with the near complete refusal of large areas of the population to obey the rules and orders of authority.

Despite the rapid proliferation of direct action, strikes, rent strikes, mass squats, streetfighting, university occupations and other popularly supported radical actions during the 1970s, the Italian movement eventually subsided. This was partly due to violent attacks, imprisonment and murders of radicals by the police and the Communist party-controlled central government. At the same time the response to this escalation of state violence was often

an escalation of terrorism by elite radical urban guerilla groups. This self-defensive terrorism often served to turn people away from a large scale, public social change movement. Some chose to become more militant and secretive, while others abandoned politics all together for a seemingly more peaceful life of obedience to authority.

## Building Revolutionary Dual Power — The Culture of the Autonomia

Though the revolutionary potential of the Italian Autonomia in the 1970s died down, their vibrance, confidence and empowerment was an inspiration to young people in West Germany in the 1980s. Inspired also by the Amsterdam squatters' movements and youth organization in Switzerland, young Germans in Berlin, Hamburg and other major cities began building their own autonomous culture and social groups based upon radical resistance and alternative ways of life.

The direction and composition of radical organization in West Germany in the 1980s was partly determined by the reigning economic recession and the forms it took. Because of the well established connections between industrial unions and the German government, the effects of this recession were felt not so much by blue collar workers, but by young people who found it increasingly impossible to secure jobs and housing and thereby move out of their parents' home and become socially and financially independent. Therefore points for autonomous youth mobilization included the stifling conformity of rural German society and the nuclear family, serious housing shortages, high unemployment—as well as the continued illegal status of abortion and government plans for a massive expansion of nuclear power.

As a result of economic recession and flight to the suburbs, at the end of the 1970s huge tracts of buildings in different German inner cities, especially West Berlin, lay abandoned by developers or government agencies. Squatting these buildings was a viable option for impoverished young people looking for independence from the nuclear family home. Vibrant squatters' communities grew up in the Kreuzberg neighborhood of Berlin, the Haffnstrasse squats of Hamburg and in other concentration points. The cornerstone of these communities was communal living, and the creation of radical social centers: infoshops, bookstores, coffeehouses, meeting halls, bars, concert halls, art galleries, and other multi-use spaces where grassroots political, artistic and social culture were developed as an alternative to nuclear family life, TV dreams and mass-produced pop culture.

From these safe social spaces grew major grassroots initiatives to fight nuclear power; to break down patriarchy and gender roles; to show solidarity with oppressed people throughout the world by attacking the European-based multinational corporations or financial institutions like the World Bank; and after German reunification, to fight the rising tide of conservative neo-Nazism.

Similar initiatives for alternative living as resistance were percolating in the 1980s (and in some places much earlier) in Holland, Denmark and elsewhere throughout northern Europe. Eventually all of these northern Europeans living in decentralized social groups dedicated to creating a non-coercive, non-hierarchical society became collectively labeled as "Autonomia." Over time the autonomists' ideas and tactics also migrated throughout the reunited post-Iron Curtain Europe. I personally have visited radical autonomous social centers in England, Spain, Italy, Croatia, Slovenia, and the Czech Republic.

## Oppression, Militant Resistance, And the Origins of the Black Bloc

From the beginning the West German state did not take kindly to young Autonomia, whether they were occupying nuclear power plant building sites or unused apartment buildings. In the winter of 1980 the Berlin city government decided to take a hardline against the thousands of young people living in squats throughout the city: they decided to criminalize, attack and evict them into the cold winter streets. This was a much more shocking and unusual action in Germany than it would be in the U.S., and created much popular disgust and condemnation of the police and government.

From December 1980 on there was an escalating cycle of mass arrests, street fighting, and new squatting in Berlin and throughout Germany. The Autonomia were not to be cowed, and responded to each eviction with several new building occupations. When squatters in the south German city of Freiburg were mass arrested, rallies and demonstrations supporting them and condemning the

police state's eviction policy took place in every major city in Germany. In Berlin on that day, later dubbed "Black Friday," upwards of 15,000 to 20,000 people took to the streets and destroyed an upper class shopping area.

This was the seething cauldron of oppression and resistance from which the Black Bloc was birthed. In late 1981 the German government began legalizing certain squats in an attempt to divide the counterculture and marginalize more radical segments. But these tactics were slow to pacify the popular radical movement—especially since the period of 1980-81 had seen not only a brutal treatment of squatters but also the largest police mobilization in Germany since the reign of the third Reich in order to attack non-violent, sitting protesters at the "Free Republic of Wendland," an encampment of 5000 activists blocking the construction of the Gorleben nuclear waste dump. Even formerly ardent pacifists had been radicalized by the experience of sustained, violent police oppression against diverse squats and activist occupations.

In response to violent state oppression radical activists developed the tactic of the Black Bloc: they went to protests and marches wearing black motorcycle helmets and ski masks and dressing in uniform black clothing (or, for the most prepared, wearing padding and steel-toed boots and bringing their own shields and truncheons). In Black Bloc, autonomia and other radicals could more effectively fend off police attacks, without being singled out as individuals for arrest and harassment later on. And, as everyone quickly figured out, having a massive group of people all dressed the same with their faces covered not only helps in defending against the police, but also makes it easier for saboteurs to take the offensive against storefronts, banks and any other material symbols and power centers of capitalism and the state. Masking up as a Black Bloc encouraged popular participation in public property destruction and violence against the state and capitalism. In this way the Black Bloc is a form of militance that mitigates the problematic dichotomy between popularly executed non-violent civil disobedience and elite, secretive guerrilla terrorism and sabotage.

## Autonomia Black Bloc Accomplishments

Black Blocs, Autonomia militance, and popular resistance to the police-state and the New World Order spread among European youth in the 1980s.

Though Dutch radicals did not begin calling themselves "Autonomia" until around 1986, earlier Dutch counterculture activists shared tactics, organizing structures and militancy with self-proclaimed autonomists. Holland's squatting movement really got started around 1968, and by 1981 more than 10,000 houses and apartments were squatted in Amsterdam, and there were around 15,000 squats in the rest of Holland. Squatted restaurants, bars, cafes, and information centers were commonplace, and the organized squatters (usually referred to as "kraakers") had their own council to plan the movement's direction and their own news radio station.

Although some Dutch autonomists rejected wearing ski masks while in Black Bloc, the movement was no less militant. One book about the Dutch squatters movement reports that "Ever since the beginning there had been a 'black helmet brigade' which felt it had joined battle with municipal social democracy."

In Germany in 1986 mounting police attacks and attempted evictions against a complex of squatted houses in Hamburg called the Haffnstrasse were met with the counteroffensive of a 10,000 person march surrounding at least 1500 people in a Black Bloc, carrying a huge banner that read, "Build Revolutionary Dual Power!" At the march's end, the Black Bloc was able to successfully engage in street fighting that put the police on the retreat. On the following day fires were set in 13 department stores in Hamburg, causing nearly \$10 million in damage.

That same year, the disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant brought new militance to demonstrations against nuclear power plants under construction in Germany. Once account of these anti-nuclear demonstrations reported, "In scenes resembling 'civil war,' helmeted, leather-clad troops of the anarchist Autonomia armed with sling-shots, Molotov cocktails and flare guns clashed brutally with the police, who employed water cannons, helicopters and CS gas (officially banned for use against civilians)."

Over ten years before Seattle and the American WTO protests, the Autonomia mobilized a similar event with a greater number of resisters. In September of 1988, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund met in Berlin. Autonomia used this meeting as a focal point for worldwide resistance to global corporate capitalism and government's destruction of grassroots autonomy and community. Thousands of activists from throughout Europe and the U.S. were mobilized, and 80,000 protesters met the bankers (at least 30,000 more than in

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Seattle). The totally outnumbered police and private security at the event attempted to maintain order by banning all demonstrations and brutally attacking any public assembly, but riots still ravaged fashionable upper class shopping areas (as was tradition).

#### Pre-Seattle Black Blocs In the U.S.A.

In November of 1999 the Black Bloc tactic seemed new to many Americans partly because the actions and ideas of the autonomist movement in Europe were mostly blacked out of the American media and have been barely written about at all in English. However, ignorance of the Black Bloc also stems from the fact that most Americans get news of domestic events from a corporate-controlled media that ignores any happenings that don't fit their view and purposes, and which represents every event that takes place as singular spectacle disconnected from past and future, to be forgotten in a blur even when it is only a few months old.

Radicals in the U.S. have never been totally ignorant of the actions and ideas of European autonomists, and the development of the punk rock subculture in the U.S. throughout the 1980s in many ways mirrored that of the autonomists. By the beginning of the 1990's anarchists and other radicals in the U.S. were masking up at marches and protests to build solidarity and create anonymity for militants.

When the Gulf War was going one protest in the streets of Washington D.C. included a Black Bloc that smashed in the windows of the World Bank building. That same year on Columbus Day in San Francisco a Black Bloc showed up to help show militant resistance to the continuing genocide of North American domination by Europeans. Personally, the largest Black Bloc that I've ever seen was at the Millions March For Mumia in Philadelphia in April of 1999. I'd say there were at least 500 dressed in Black, masked up, and carrying banners such as "Vegans For Mumia." Though there was no street fighting and no particularly noticeable property destruction, some kids did manage to get into a parking garage along the march route, climb to the roof and wave the black flag.

#### The Global Future of the Black Mask

The symbol of the black-masked autonomist militant has spread to the third world as well. As the North American Free Trade Agreement's destructive neo-liberalizing economic policies took effect on January 1st, 1994, a guerilla uprising took place in Chiapas, a state in southern Mexico. The uprising sought to create space for the development of autonomous social organization among downtrodden Mayan indigenous peoples. The armed wing of this struggle for community autonomy and direct democracy without coercion or hierarchy has been and continues to be the Zapatistas, men and women who wear black balaclavas (similar to ski masks) whenever they appear in public. Many autonomists and anarchists have visited and tried to help them in their struggles with knowledge, money, materials and by building international awareness and solidarity of the situation in Chiapas.

Back in Germany, the Autonomists are seeing dark days. It is said that in the past squatters held at least 165 large, five-story apartment buildings in eastern Berlin, but by late 1997 only three remained. Legalizing some squats while brutally evicting others has been an effective policy for the police state. Many people living in legalized squats are unwilling to rock the boat by encouraging or expressing solidarity with militant tactics practiced by other squatters, and this marginalization makes it easier for the squatters to lose out in street-fighting against an increasingly militarized police force.

Rumor has it that many militants in areas of northern Europe where the Black Bloc was a common demonstration tactic have increasingly given it up, as it has ceased to serve its purpose. The forces of state repression have caught on, and use ever greater technological, legal and physical force to observe, isolate, pursue and target those involved in Black Blocs. A similar process is taking place in the U.S., with a resurgence of COINTELPRO-style tactics aimed at radicals who oppose the global capitalist-statist American empire.

Whether the Black Bloc continues as a tactic or is abandoned, it certainly has served its purpose. In certain places and times the Black Bloc effectively empowered people to take action in collective solidarity against the violence of state and capitalism. It is important that we neither cling to it nostalgically as an outdated ritual or tradition, nor reject it wholesale because it sometimes seems inappropriate. Rather we should continue working pragmatically to fulfill our individual needs and desires through various tactics and objectives, as they are appropriate at the specific moment. Masking up in Black Bloc has its time and place, as do other tactics which conflict with it.

# Prisoners of War

## Anarchist

**Robert Thaxton** #12112716, SRCI, 777 Stanton Street, Ontario, OR 97914. Rob threw a rock at a cop in self-defense at the 1999 Eugene J18 Reclaim the Streets and received a severe seven year sentence as part of a mandatory minimum sentence.

**Chris Plummer**, #677345, Route 2, Box 4400, Gatesville, TX 76597. Serving fifteen years for the destruction of fascist propaganda.

**Ali Khalid Abdullah** #148130, Thum Correctional Facility, 3225 John Conley Drive, Lapeer, MI 48446. Serving to 10 to 20 years for the charge of "Assault with Intent to Rob while Armed" for his involvement in trying to shut down a major drug dealer.

**James "Rio" Johnson**, #8952263, SRCI, 777 Stanton Street, Ontario, OR 97914

**Harold Thompson**, #93992, Northwest Correctional Complex, Route 1, Box 660, Tiptonville, TN 38079. Sentenced to life plus 50 years for a 1979 robbery of a jewelers, killing a police informer who had murdered his partner and a shooting incident in Ohio. He was later given an extra 32 years for a failed escape attempt.

**Ojure Lutalo** #59860, POB 861, Trenton, NJ 08625. Black liberation activist and anarchist. Jailed in 1975 for expropriation, paroled in 1980 but re-arrested in 1982 for an armed attack on a drug dealer. Sentenced to 20-40 years. Held in the Trenton Management Control Unit, where political prisoners are isolated by the authorities in an attempt to stop the spread of radical ideas.

**Shaka N' Zinga** s/n Arthur Wiggins #196612, POB 534 (MHC-X), Jessup, MD 20794.

**Mark Barnsley** WA2897, HMP Wakefield, 5 Love Lane, Wakefield, WF2 9AG, UK. Attacked when out with his family by a gang of drunken students, he has been fitted up for attacking them. Mark has been part of the anarchist movement for years. He is refusing to admit guilt therefore parole is being refused.

**Thomas Meyer-Falk**, JVA Bruschal, Zellle 3117, Schonbornstr. 32, 76646, Bruschal, Germany

**Nikos Maziotis** c/o Daphne Vaganou, Ozortz, 10689, Athens, Greece. Serving 15 years for bombing the Greek Ministry of Industry in solidarity with the residents of Strymonikos Bay who were opposed to the attempts by TVX-Gold to build a factory there.

**Silvano Pellisero**, Com. Mastriolerto, Via Ferrerinolino 2, Sanponso, 10080 Torino, Italy. Serving 6 years 8 months for allegedly sabotaging a rail line construction site in the Northern Italian Alps. He can read Spanish, French and Italian but not English.

## Anti Imperialist

**Thomas Manning**, 10372-016, Box 4000, Springfield, MO 65801

**Richard Williams**, 10377-016, 3901 Klein Blvd., Lompoc, CA 93436

**Ray Luc Levasseur**, 10376-016, Box PMB, Atlanta, GA 30315

**Larry Giddings** #10917-086, PO Box 1000, Lewisburg, PA 17837. Anti-authoritarian prisoner jailed in 1973 for attempted expropriation, paroled in 1978 then re-arrested in 1979 while attempting to liberate a comrade from prison. Doing multiple sentences of life in prison and 75 years with no known parole opportunities.

**Bill Dunn** #10916-086, Box 1000, Marion, IL 62959. Anti-authoritarian sentenced to 90 years for the attempted liberation of a prisoner in 1979. Bill was recently transferred back to the infamous Marion Control Unit in Marion.

**Marilyn Buck**, 00482-283, Unit B, 5701 8th Street, Camp Parks, Dublin, CA 94568

**Linda Evans**, 19973-054 Unit A, 5701 8th Street, Camp Parks, Dublin, CA 94568

## Antifascist

**Pavel Kroupa** - 4.3.1977, Veznice Vazba, Straz Pod Ralskem, 47127. Recently jailed and charged with murder. Pavel was attacked by 5 fascist skinheads. He defended himself and consequently one fascist died. If found guilty he could face life in prison. Send support to: Benefit Support -Ivana Vranova, Bohunicka 19, 60000 Brno

**Tomasz Wilkoszewski** - Zaktad Karny, U. Ciupagi 1, 03-016 Warsaw, Poland. Sentenced to 15 years for the death of a fascist, killed during a confrontation

**NONE OF US ARE FREE  
UNTIL WE ARE ALL FREE**

## Ecological Resistance

**Jeremiah Rush Bowen**, #108016, DCC, 1140 East 10 Road, Delta, CO 81416. Serving two years for the arson of a townhouse in Boulder, Colorado last summer.

**Jeffrey Luers** #1306729, 101 W. 5th Street Eugene, 97401. aka Free. Awaiting trial (May 30th) on eleven charges relating to two arsons in Eugene, Oregon.

**Craig Marshall**, PO Box 50263, Eugene, OR 97405. aka Critter. Serving a five and a half year sentence for conspiracy to commit arson and possession of unlawful devices.

**Ted Kaczynski** (04475-046), US Pen - admin Max Facility, PO Box 8500, Florence Colorado 81226.

**Helen Woodson**, 03231-045 FMC Carswell, POB 27137 Admin Max Unit, Fort Worth, TX 76127. Serving 27 years for robbing a bank and then setting the money on fire while reading out a statement denouncing greed, capitalism and the destruction of the environment.

**Lee Hinlin**, EX7748 HMP Perry Road, Sherwood, Nottingham, N65 3AG UK. Imprisoned for criminal damage to quarrying equipment at the Nine Ladies quarry.

## Animal Liberation

**Charlotte Lewis**, GN4092, HMP Holloway, Parkhurst Rd, London, N7 0NU, UK. Serving six months for sending hate mail to Huntington Life Science employees.

**Mel Broughton**, DJ8216, HMP The Mount, Molyneaux Avenue, Bovingdon, Hemel Hempstead, HP3 0NZ, UK. Serving 4 years for conspiracy to cause explosions.

**Barry Horne**, VC2141, HMP Belmarsh, Western Way, Thamesmead, London SE28 0EB, UK. Serving 18 years for various anti-vivisection arsons and attempted arsons.

**Mark Kulsdom**, Blegdamfejens Faengsel, Blegdamsvej 6, 2200 Copenhagen N, Denmark. Dutch ALF activist serving 10 months for releasing 8,000 mink from a fur farm in Denmark.

**Robert Molenaar**, Blegdamfejens Faengsel, Blegdamsvej 6, 2200 Copenhagen N, Denmark. Dutch ALF activist serving 10 months for releasing 8,000 mink from a fur farm in Denmark.

**Geert Waegemans**, Begijnestraat 42 2000 Antwerp, Belgium. Charged with various arsons against the meat industry and McDonald's restaurants.

## Indigenous

**Eric Wildcat Hall**, #BL-5355, Unit I/A 10745 Route 18, Albion, PA 16475-0002. Serving 35-75 years for helping ship arms to Central American resisters

**Leonard Peltier**, #89637-132, PO Box 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048. An American Indian Movement (AIM) activist, serving two life sentences, having been framed for the murder of two FBI agents.

**Robert Wilson**, #640289, Pack Unit 1, 2400 Wallace Pack Rd, Navasota, TX 77869. In 1978 Robert (a.k.a. Standing Deer) exposed a government plot to assassinate Leonard Peltier and was sentenced to life in prison.

**Leamy Chavez**, PO Box 28703, Oakland CA 94694. An AIM activist who defended himself & his family from an armed racist. Leamy disarmed his attacker by stabbing him with a penknife and was jailed for attempted murder.

## MOVE

**Debbie Simmons Africa** (006307), **Janet Holloway Africa** (006308), **Jasmine Phillips Africa** (006309) SCI Cambridge Springs, 451 Fullerton Ave, Cambridge Springs, PA 16403-1238

**Michael Davis Africa** (AM4973), **Charles Simmons Africa** (AM4975), SCI Grateford, PO Box 244, Grateford, PA 19426-0244.

**Edward Goodman Africa** (AM4974) SCI Camp Hill, PA 17011-0200

**William Phillips Africa** (AM4984), **Delbert Orr Africa** (AM4985) SCI Dallas Drawer K, Dallas, PA 18612.

## Contacts

**North American Earth Liberation Prisoners Support Network**; POB 11331, Eugene, OR 97440. naelpsn@yahoo.com; www.spiritoffreedom.org.uk Produces the bi-monthly zine, *Spirit of Freedom*.

**Anarchist Prisoners Legal Aid Network (APLAN)** 818 SW 3rd Avenue, PMB #354, Portland, OR 97204 aplan@tao.ca

# Reviews

## Zines

### *Do or Die: Voices from the Ecological Resistance* Iss. 9.

Wow! The long awaited (since summer 1999) issue of the best eco-anarchist zine out there has finally made it to the states. Although not as compelling as the last issue, *Do or Die* has once again produced an amazing publication that resembles a book more than an annual zine. Tight layout, critical analysis, humor, reviews, reflection...all the things that American EF? is lacking!

The coverage of Prague, worldwide resistance to biotechnology, May Day, the controversial article "Give up Activism," and its postscript is excellent. There are informative profiles on French bank robber Jacques Mesrine, Black anarchist Lorenzo Kombo Ervin, and anti-terrorism bills throughout the world. It is so nice to see self criticism that is not mere personal attacks in articles about May Day entitled "May Day: Guerrilla? Gardening?", "Reflections on Biocentrism" by a roving EF'er, and "Lessons from Smash Genetics". Unfortunately, *Do or Die*'s coverage of Seattle is pretty lame. It seems that they believed the propaganda put out by the Ruckus Society and the Direct Action Network about everyone working together nicely. Thus, it really failed to voice any anarchist voices about the "battle in Seattle." Nonetheless, this zine is necessary reading for the American green anarchist community. Contact *Do or Die*, c/o Prior House, 6 Tilbury Place, Brighton, BN2 2 GY, UK. [doordtp@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:doordtp@yahoo.co.uk); [www.eco-action.org/dod](http://www.eco-action.org/dod). \$10 for a 4-6 week delivery/ \$15 for faster. Do not send US checks or money orders but send well concealed cash or UK blank money orders.

### *The Defiant - Prisoners in the Global Resistance*

Edited by Rob Los Ricos and APLAN

There is not a group in the US doing more for imprisoned anarchists than APLAN, the Anarchist Prisoner Legal Aid Network, so when I heard they were doing a zine of prisoner writings, I was excited. This zine is excellent. Besides transcending the punk rock layout style of many anarchist zines, the content is insightful and written by prisoners. Articles by Ali Khalid Abdullah on anarchists and prison, Rob "Los Ricos" Thaxton entitled "Red, White and Blue Fascism" on rape in prison, and Greek anarchist Nikos Maziotis's "plea" to the court are the standouts of this collection. Additionally, there is a comprehensive listing of all sorts of prisoners as well as profiles on individuals, such as UK anarchist Mark Barnsly, Chris Plummer, Ojure Lutalo and Harold Thompson. This is a must read, and I fully support APLAN and their work. Send at least \$3 to APLAN, 818 SW 3rd Avenue, PMB #354, Portland, OR 97204, [aplan@tao.ca](mailto:aplan@tao.ca)

### *Bring the War Home. Vol. 1: Forgotten Heroes*

This refreshing zine focuses on two underground guerrilla groups from the 1970s who waged war on the US government: the Black Liberation Army and the Weather Underground. I found it educational, especially the parts on how these groups were caught and decimated. Anarchists should most definitely read radical history and not repeat the same mistakes that these groups and others made during the turbulent periods of the last 30 years. Additionally there is much inspiration to be culled from this zine in relation to the daring actions committed by both groups. There is also a section about prisoners from these groups that are still being held by the state and are in need of support. Hopefully future volumes will be released soon. My suggestions for groups to focus on: the George Jackson Brigade, the United Freedom Front and the Angry Brigade. Available for \$1 or three stamps from POB 11331, Eugene, OR 97440.

### *Spirit of Freedom April/May 2001*

Subtitled "the newsletter of the Earth Liberation Prisoners Support Network," this zine focuses on prisoners imprisoned for Earth and animal liberation. This issue has sections on the new "Hate Crime" legislation in the Northwest, active grand juries, poetry by prisoners, FBI harassment, and individuals facing jail time because of ELF actions in Indiana and New York. Free to prisoners/two stamps for anyone else from NAEPSN, POB 11331, Eugene, OR 97440.

### *Species Traitor #1 Winter 2001*

*Species Traitor* is a promising new eco-anarchist paper produced by the Pennsylvania-based Coalition Against Civilization. Issue #1 features several short but powerful rants against civilization by Kevin Tucker, a poem celebrating

the recent string of arsons by the Earth Liberation Front, a passionate and moving essay by Derrick Jensen (taken from his latest book, *A Language Older Than Words*), as well as some reprints from *Green Anarchy*, *The Black-Clad Messenger*, and *Feral: A Journal Towards Wildness*. *Species Traitor* is one more reminder that conventional leftist anarchism is rapidly disappearing, and that resistance to civilization itself is coming to the forefront of anarchist ideas and practice. Highly recommended. Send \$2 to Coalition Against Civilization, POB 835, Greensburg, PA 15601.

### *Willful Disobedience # 7 March/April 2001*

*Willful Disobedience* (for those of you who haven't seen it yet) is one of the most important and intelligent anarchist papers being published in North America and should definitely be checked out by anyone interested in what a growing number of anarchists in this country are thinking, particularly with regard to the need for more insurrectional forms of resistance to civilization and its mechanisms of control. Some of the more outstanding articles in this issue include "The EZLN is Not Anarchist," "I Dream In Colors," "The World Social Farce," and the latest installment of one of this paper's regular columns, "Against The Logic Of Submission," which in this issue focuses on Realism. We think so highly of this paper that we've decided to reprint several articles from it in this issue of *GA* because the perspective offered in *Willful Disobedience* has much to contribute to the anarchist milieu and needs to reach a wider audience. We strongly recommend that you order a sample copy of this paper (either from us or from the address listed below) or better yet, subscribe for five dollars a year. Sample issues are available for two dollars and can be ordered from PO Box 11331, Eugene, OR 97440, or Venomous Butterfly Publications, 41 Sutter St., Suite 1661, San Francisco, CA 94104.

### *Anarchy: A Journal Of Desire Armed #51* Spring-Summer 2001

We're rapidly running out of space, but we wanted to try to squeeze in a quick review of the new *Anarchy*, as this issue's focus is "Primitivism: Pro and Con". This is a discussion that is long overdue in the radical press, and we suspect that this issue will generate lots of controversy and debate. *Anarchy* is pretty easy to acquire at just about any anarchist infoshop or large corporate bookstore, but you can also order a copy directly from CAL Press, POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446.

### *Weed Lover Issue #5*

This awesome local zine focuses on the world of permaculture and other methods of radical sustainability. Like all issues, this one has timely information on what to plant where and when. Its focus is on the bioregions of the Northwest, but has lots of important information for urban and rural gardeners everywhere. You can get this issue, back issues, and a whole catalog of great booklets and pamphlets such as *Beneath The Concrete: A D.I.Y. Farming Zine*, *Guerilla Graywater*, and *Urban Permaculture* from the Dirt Church Distribution, 165 N. Grand St. Eugene, OR 97402.

### *This Is What Democracy Looks Like*

Another amazing pamphlet from Venomous Butterfly Publications. We've already reviewed this pamphlet in a previous issue of *GA* but we feel it's such an important tract that it needs to be plugged again. This pamphlet dissects the historical origins of "democracy" as a form of social organization and exposes its true oppressive, fascist nature. It's vitally important for anarchists who are involved in the anti-globalization movement to recognize that any "alliances" they are forming with the larger liberal community are temporary alliances of convenience and will more than likely not survive any real revolutionary uprising (at which point most of our liberal "allies" will sell us down the river).

As the quintessential UK Anarcho-Crust band, The Amebix, so eloquently put it in one of their songs, "There is a Traitor in our Midst and When We Arise We Will Be Betrayed." As anarchists we are most explicitly NOT fighting for more "democracy," We are fighting for complete, unadulterated freedom and individual self-determination, and this is what separates us from the reformist majority who comprise the bulk of the international anti-globalization movement. For our own survival as a movement, we need to be clear about what we want and who we can trust. This phenomenal pamphlet can be ordered from Venomous Butterfly Publications (see address above). In addition to this pamphlet, we also recommend VBP's *Toward The Creative Nothing*, a short collection of rants and poems by the late Italian illegalist, nihilist, pagan anarchist Renzo Novatore, and *The Undesirables*, an analysis of technology and the class struggle from an insurrectionist perspective. Both of which can be ordered from the previously mentioned addresses for \$2 each.

### *Passionate and Dangerous*

This excellent collection of interviews focuses on "anarchists and anti-authoritarians" in Midwestern America, including Chicago, St. Louis, Detroit, Tennessee, Columbia, Bloomington IN, and at least one unidentified autonomous zone. The emphasis here is on practical projects, which I for one find quite refreshing. A quick list of the projects reveals what's at work here -- free radio, cooperative housing, underground bakeries, publishers, women's health, black queer anarchist activism, food not bombs, and so on. The interviews are long enough to get a sense of the different people, their history, and what they're about. The questions and answers are detailed enough to provide welcome practical information on these matters. I got this zine in Portland at the Q Is For Choir store in Southeast, and I also bought *Killing King Abacus* at the same time. They complement each other nicely - KKA is more theoretical, whereas this zine is about matters of everyday life. Many of the interviews are with housing collectives, and publishers and radical ecologists are also represented more than once. For people who think anarchists only live and play in (insert cliched city here), this collection is a refreshing reminder that we are everywhere.

As usual, the publisher went into debt to produce this. Copies are \$4 postpaid from POB 63232, St. Louis, MO 63163; ten copies are \$25. Check it out.

### *Against Sleep And Nightmare # 6*

*Against Sleep And Nightmare* describes itself as "part of a debate or strategy among a very small group of revolutionaries. Within this milieu, there are those who call themselves "ultra-leftist," "council communists," "autonomist," "situationist-influenced," "class war anarchist," or "left communist." Despite some big words, ASAN is meant to be a simple-as-possible overview of how our side fares in the class war." I would personally describe ASAN as one of the most unique and intelligent anti-authoritarian papers being published today. Coming from an anti-state communist perspective (with a solid grounding in situationist theory), this paper dissects everything from mainstream media to government bureaucracy with a razor sharp critical scalpel. I've been blown away by the sheer brilliance of this paper for years, and my only complaint is that it comes out so infrequently. Fortunately, all five back are still available from [www.webcom.com/maxang](http://www.webcom.com/maxang). Check the web site for current mailing address. This is a phenomenal zine and we strongly urge you to check it out.

### *The Match! Number 96 Winter 2000-2001*

*The Match!* used to be a fairly reliable source of anti-authoritarian humor, but in recent years publisher Fred Woodworth has gotten increasingly paranoid and reactionary and the cutting, biting wit that I used to appreciate about this paper is all but gone. Aesthetically, this paper is still impressive, and it's to Fred Woodworth's credit that he continues to use his old 19th-century printing press to put it out. However, the conservative nature of Woodworth's particular brand of anarchism is totally exposed in this latest issue, as well as in the disgraceful post-WTO issue (number 95). As an anarchist named Karen wrote in a letter printed in this issue, "I don't mind that you have a critique of the events in Seattle. I do think, however, that a logical argument would be more effective than a lot of assumptions and questionable analogies. It isn't your place to proclaim that some other anarchist isn't really an anarchist just because you don't agree with one of their tactics, or opinions. Your alienating a lot of anarchists this way, and if you keep doing it, you just might me the only "real" anarchist left, and this rest of us "fake" anarchists will continue working toward our dreams for a better way of living." Well, this pretty much sums up our perspective on *The Match!* these days. Now that subscriptions are free to everyone (and not just prisoners) it might be worth subscribing to, for the occasional chuckle it may provide, but basically, this paper has gone way downhill and should probably be avoided.

### *Live Wild Or Die (LWOD) ???*

Still waiting for this one. The "committed crew" said "anytime now" about a year ago. Readers will remember the controversial "Eco-Fucker Hit List" prominently featured in FBI files. At one point this zine kicked serious ass, making the EF! Journal pretty irrelevant. Only time will tell whether this once excellent zine will ever come out again. For now, contact the "editors" and give them shit. POB 580444, Mpls, MN 55458. [g-spot@tao.ca](mailto:g-spot@tao.ca)

### *Music*

*Resist and Exist "Kwangju" \$7* Tribal War Records, 1951 W. Burnside #1936, Portland, OR 97206. Another great release from what some say are one of the most influential anarcho-peace punk bands still around today. This Southern California band mixes it up with songs of revolution, protest, liberation, animal rights, ecology, and much more.

# Green Anarchy Mail Order

POB 11331, Eugene, OR 97440; [greenanarchy@tao.ca](mailto:greenanarchy@tao.ca)

## Pamphlets

**Abolition Of Work & Primitive Affluence** \$1  
Bob Black

**Angry Brigade: Documents and Chronology** \$1  
Elephant Editions

**Against Technology**-a short pamphlet 50 cents  
John Zerzan

**Anarchists Are Going To Eat Your Children** \$1  
Myths, Misinformation, and Misunderstanding about anarchism and the Eugene community by Mayhap.

**Anarchist Survival Guide For Understanding Gestapo**

**Swine Interrogation Mind Games** \$1  
Harold Thompson  
Stay free by shutting the fuck up!

**The Animal Liberation Front Primer** \$1

**Anti-Mass: Methods Of Organization For Collectives**  
50 cents

**Armed Joy** \$1  
Alfredo Bonanno

**A Brief History Of The New Afrikan Prison Struggle**  
Sundiata Acoli \$1

**Bring The War Home**: vol. 1 Forgotten Heroes; the Black Liberation Army and the Weather Underground. \$1

**Chaos** \$1  
Hakim Bey

**The Continuing Appeal Of Nationalism** 75 cents  
Fredy Perlman

**Enemy Of The State**: An Interview With John Zerzan by Derrick Jensen 50 cents

**From Riot To Insurrection** \$1  
Alfredo Bonanno  
**Fuck the System**: \$2 fundraiser for legal fees  
Political writings by/about political prisoners Free and Critter

**Grand Juries: Tools Of Political Repression** 50 cents  
Craig Rosebraugh

**Green Anarchism: Origins And Influences** \$1  
Green Anarchist Magazine

**Guerrilla Warfare: A Method** 50 cents  
Che Guevara

**Fuck You Bearden** \$2  
Jailhouse Writings And Rants From Political Prisoner Rob Los Ricos.

**Future Primitive** \$1  
John Zerzan  
Taken from the book by the same name, this essay presents a scathing critique of civilization and technology.

**Handbook For Volunteers Of The Irish Republican Army**: Notes On Guerrilla Warfare \$1.50  
The IRA

**Hands Up!** \$1  
Compiled By Cananero  
A booklet containing info about the four anarchists arrested in Italy for an armed bank robbery.

**If an Agent Knocks** 25 cents  
All you need to know about visits by the feds

**Industrial Society & It's Future: The Unabomber's Manifesto** \$1.50

**Lessons Of Easter Island** \$1  
Clive Ponting  
Taken from his book "A Green History of the World". This essay traces a history of genocide and ecological devastation on this continent beginning with the arrival of Columbus.

**Memories Of Freedom** \$2  
Western Wildlife Unit Of The ALF  
An excellent introduction to the ALF and its direct action campaign of the early 90's. Contains the story of Rod Coronado's activities and capture.

**Nighttime Gardener**: A guide to finding, and getting rid of GE crops \$1

**The Neo-Luddites & Lessons From The Luddites** \$2  
Kirkpatrick Sale  
Two essays reprinted from his book "Rebels Against The Future". A very convincing condemnation of industrial civilization.

**The Period Conspiracy** 50 cents  
Who's Out To Hurt You-And How. (Or, Before You Buy Tampons, Read This)

**A Primitivist Primer** 50 cents  
John Moore  
An interesting and very accessible introduction to the movement against civilization.

**Primitivist Critique of Civilization** \$1  
Richard Heinberg

**Prison Abolition** 50 cents  
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## Rants: Essays and Polemics \$1

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Rants and essays against all Of authority and domestication.

## Revolutionary Solidarity 50 cents

Aldo Perego, Alfredo Bonanno, Massimo Passamani, Pierleone Porcu

A compilation of essays about the necessity of revolutionary solidarity from an insurrectionist perspective.

## Rob The Rich! \$2 fundraiser

Jailhouse writings of political prisoner Robert Thaxton

A.K.A. Rob Los Ricos.

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Pierre Clastres

An analysis of the anti-authoritarian nature of many indigenous peoples by this French anarchist and anthropologist.

## Stopping The Industrial Hydra: Revolution Against The Megamachine \$1

George Bradford

The ecological disasters perpetuated by industrial capitalism are not just isolated incidents that can be prevented through workers' self-management: they are the inevitable consequences of technological civilization.

## Survival Without Rent \$1

The ABC's of squatting

## The Truth About The Bonnot Gang 50 cents

Ezra Brett Mell

## We All Live In Bhopal 50 cents

David Watson

In the technological society, we are all subjected to poisonous chemicals and contaminations.

## Women In Prison: Who We Are 50 cents

Assata Shakur

## Venomous Butterfly Publications

Venomous Butterfly publications is a project aimed at making writings available which express an insurrectionary anarchist perspective in the form of pamphlets and zines.

All titles are \$1.50 except for #11 which is \$2

- 1) **Choosing To Serve: Anarchy Against Democracy**
- 2) **Futurist Attack**
- 3) **Without Asking Permission**
- 4) **Where Do We Meet Face To Face?**
- 5) **Dreams Of Insurrection**
- 6) **A Strange And Outcast Poet: The Life And Writings Of Renzo Novatore**
- 7) **A Mind Of One's Own**
- 8) **Flower Of Harm #1**
- 9) **Flower Of Harm #2**
- 10) **This Is What Democracy Looks Like**
- 11) **Towards The Creative Nothing- Renzo Novatore**
- 12) **The Undesirables**

## Zines

**Black Clad Messenger**. Current. Two-year running journal of anti-authoritarian primitivism. \$2 each

**Break The Chains**. Current. Newsletter for prisoners about state repression/terrorism in the Northwest. Free to prisoners. Anyone else can send a couple of stamps.

**Disorderly Conduct** #1-3. An insurrectionary green anarchist quarterly, brought to you by the "Bring On The Ruckus" Society. \$2

**Mayhap**- current issue available. \$1.50 each.

**Spirit Of Freedom**- the newsletter of the North American Earth Liberation Prisoners Support Network. Two 34 cent stamps

**Green Anarchist**-Issues 57/58, 59 available. \$2 each

Old-school British anarcho-primitivist magazine.

**Harbinger**- Current Issue Available. 55 cents stamp  
Insightful zine put out by CrimethINC.

**Weed Lover** #1-4 available. \$2 each

**Willful Disobedience**- Current and back issues available (#1-7) \$1.50 each

## Books

### Against Civilization \$9

ed. John Zerzan

An awesome collection of essays and articles critiquing the plague of civilization.

### Against His-story, Against Leviathan \$8

Fredy Perlman

A history of civilization and the resistance to it.

### Anarchist Farm \$10

Jane Doe

The Anarchist version of *Animal Farm*

## Anarchy After Leftism \$7

Bob Black

"Anarchy will not be until the last Leftist is hung by the guts of the last Social Ecologist." - From the preface

## Beyond Bookchin \$8

George Bradford A critique of social ecology from this luddite activist and long-time contributor to the Fifth Estate magazine.

## Elements Of Refusal \$14

John Zerzan

Zerzan's extensive research attempts to trace the roots of domination. From time, agriculture, language, and so on to the various other forms of social control to domesticate and dominate all life.

## Last Days of Christ the Vampire \$10

The excellent fictional book exposing the vampire cult of the Christian church

## The Nihilist Princess \$12

Louis M. Gagenuer

## Videos

### Breaking the Spell: Anarchy, Eugene and the WTO

The most accurate and inspiring documentary of the N30 protests in Seattle. \$10

\* We also have green and black star pins for \$2 each. \*

## Ordering Information:

Send checks or postal money orders made out to "Green Anarchy" or send well-concealed cash to the above address. Write "Attention: Distro" on envelope. Postage price is included in the price of the zine or book. Do not send coins! If you want flat copies suitable for your distro, just tell us and we'll send those. We also need payment before we send out any zines since we have to pay for our copy costs.

## I want to distribute Green Anarchy!

OK, it's simple. The rates are as follows:

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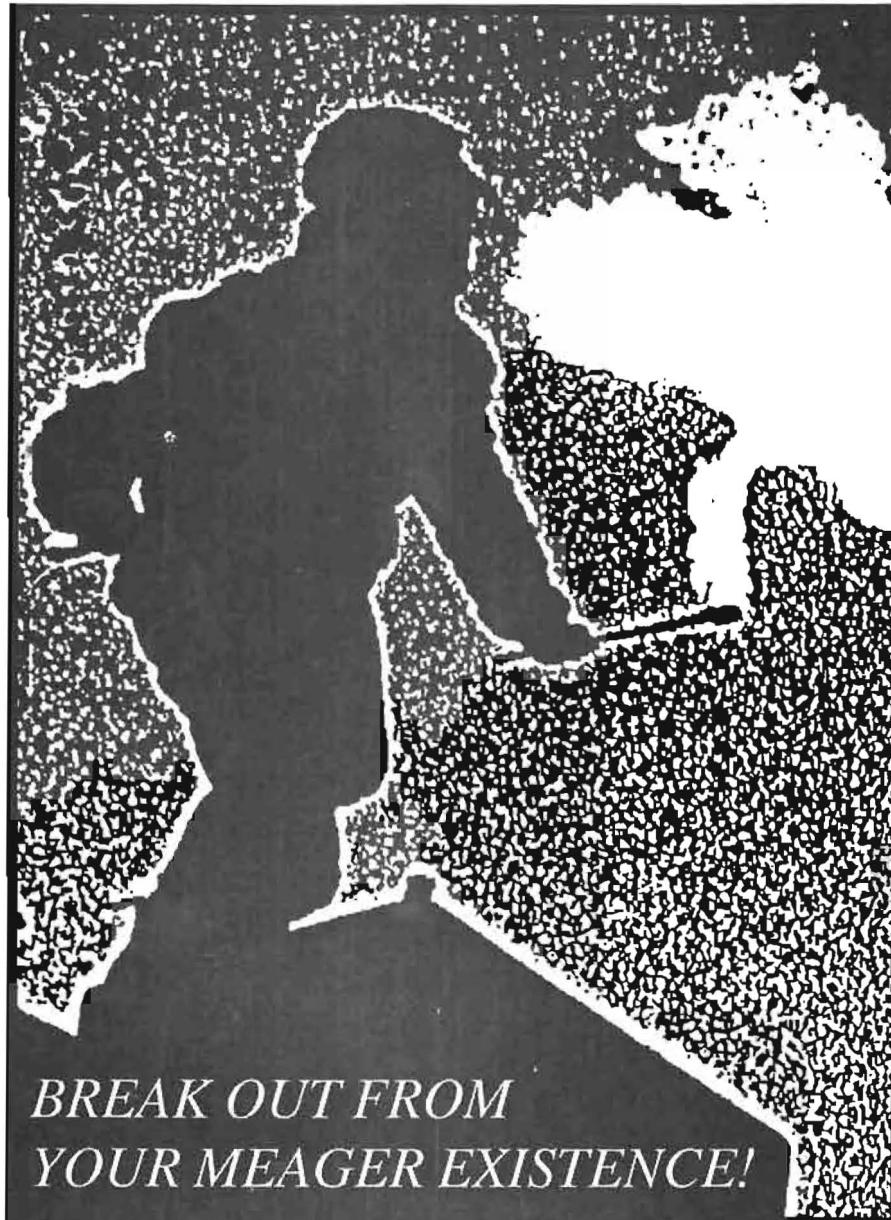
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*BREAK OUT FROM  
YOUR MEAGER EXISTENCE!*

That's right, it's time to break out from your meager existence and this issue of *Green Anarchy* has plenty of ideas on how one might do so. The countdown to eco-armageddon has begun folks, and we need to start fighting back with every tool at our disposal. As anti-authoritarians, we define our own struggle and decide for ourselves what sort of tactics will be effective in the struggle to reclaim our lives and the planet. Invariably, our struggle will bring us into conflict with the state and its laws, as self-determined activity is one of the main things the rulers of our society fear. Have fun!

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